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Eyewitnesses Report:

Cuban Missile Build-Up Continues

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Impeccable Cuban underground sources reveal a Soviet missile concentration and electronic build-up certainly unknown to our public. And these are the same sources on which this column relied, and who were proven completely right, in the face of Washington denials, for so many months before the Oct. 22, 1962, missile "confrontation."

They are eyewitnesses to the Soviet missiles and the immense electronic installations that go with these. They find the missile caves that Washington finally agreed were there not only still exist but have been enlarged. Several members of the underground even "helped" enlarge them, for they infiltrated the operation as construction workers.

They continue to insist that all long-range atomic missiles have not been removed. When Washington abandoned our on-site inspection demand we not only did not inspect the sites, we did not inspect the crates. All we got was aerial photographs of canvas-covered boxes on outgoing ships.

Thus the haunting question has always remained: If the Kremlin did what it said it would do, why didn't it let us see it do it?

There were 86 long-range missiles known to have been brought in. These observers insist that many remain and have counted several at Auras (Las Villas Province) alone. Auras is on the south coast of Cuba and the underground arsenal is 1.5 miles inland from the coast.

Moreover, an American enters the picture. Members of the underground name, as a prime mover in the Soviet program, an American who took asylum in Cuba and who held an Atomic Energy Commission security clearance for four years. This scientist is a graduate of California Institute of Technology and an expert on U.S. atomic missiles.

There are two Moscow-controlled headquarters. One is in the vast cavern of Santo Tomas. Cuban Communist leader and cave expert Antonio Nunez Jimenez describes this phenomenon in the Castro magazine, *Bohemia,* as the largest cavern in all Latin America, stating that "its galleries and underground rivers extend 15 kilometers and form a complicated network of 20 intercommunicating caverns."

What Jimenez does not say is the use the Russians have made of this subterranean maze.

It is today the Russians' central military warehouse of their Western zone, which encompasses the three provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana and Matanzas. The guarded entrance is at Kilometro 23 on the Luis Lazo (blocked-off) highway between Pinar del Rio and Guane.

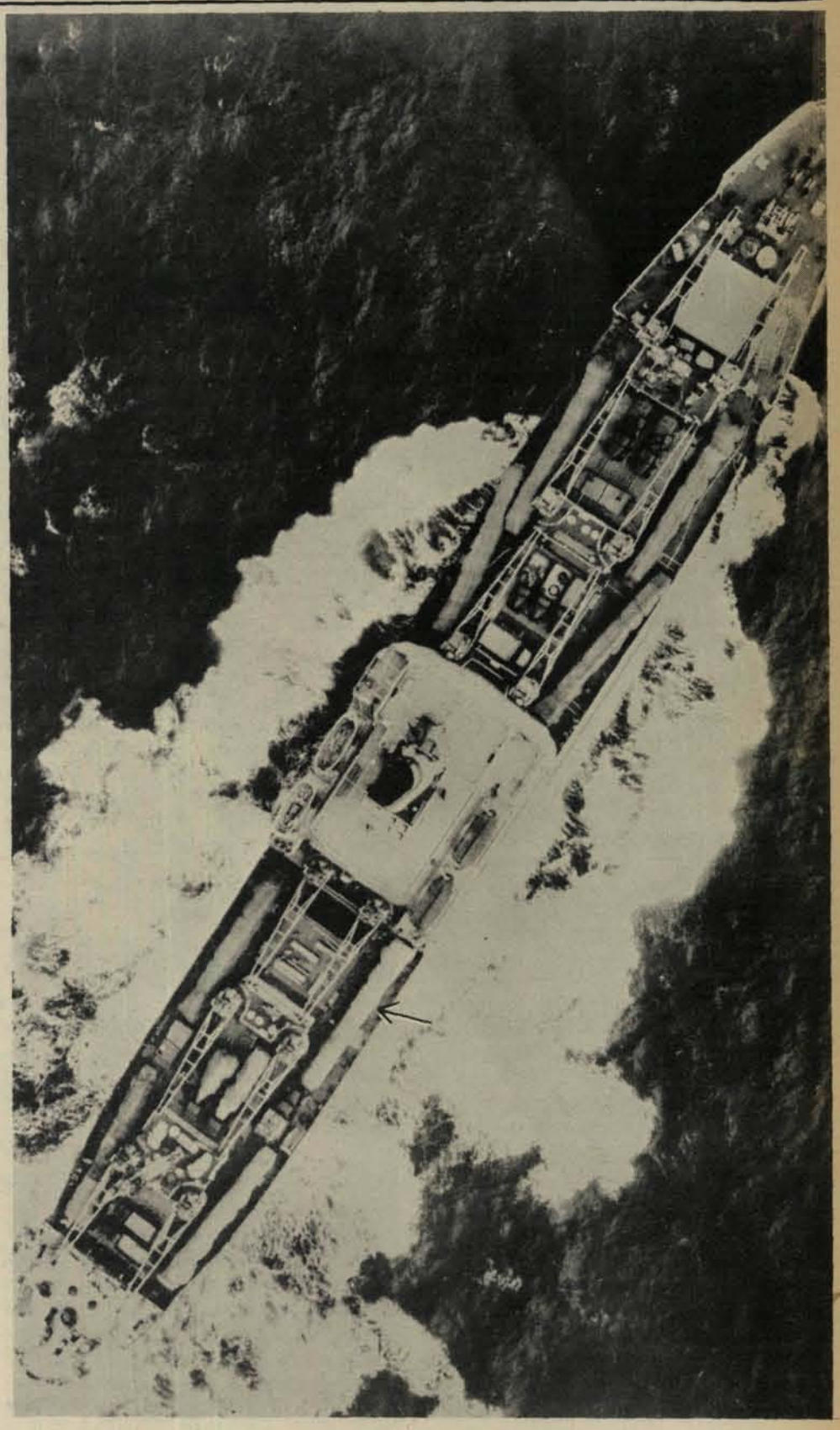
Soviet specialists have built a two-lane tunnel with railroad tracks connecting Santo Tomas' main galleries, which are used to store missiles and arms. They have installed in one of the galleries a powerful seismetic complex and the latest Soviet satellite tracking equipment. And they've installed in a gallery to the south their atomic energy experimental station that services atomic missiles. The American is in charge.

The second major missile and electronic concentration, also undetectable from the air by our reconnaissance flights, is in the Los Portales cave in the far-western province of Pinar del Rio.

You enter the camouflaged hillside through the so-called La Guira farm near the town of San Diego los Banos, an important Soviet air base. This complex is connected underground with the immense Oscura cave.

The Cuban liaison with the Russian command there is Ernesto "Che" Guevara's protege, Capt. Pablo Rivalta Perez (underground code name: Simon) who was in Russia 1955-58 and is one of the few Castro officers allowed access to the Soviet bases.

Most of the expansion has taken place since the missile "confrontation." It was directed by Commissar Nicolai Dandensko, vice president of the Soviet State Bureau of Hydraulics. As at the Santo Tomas complex, the Russians employed siliceous-type cement which resists humidity; Czechoslovakian steel bars; hardwood rollers ordered from British Guiana and—shipped directly from the Soviet Union—special ventilation and refrigeration equipment used to preserve the liquid oxygen required to launch missile rockets.



When the Russians supposedly removed their missiles from Cuba in 1962, the only proof we got were aerial photographs such as this showing canvas-covered boxes (arrow) that were said to contain the missiles.

Thus a further vital question remains: Can these Soviet electronic installations inside our Caribbean defense perimeter jam and defeat the rocket missile operations at nearby Cape Kennedy?

The impeccable Cuban underground sources can correctly give these eyewitness revelations, but they are not competent to answer that. Our U.S. technicians should know the answer at Cape Kennedy itself.

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The Extreme Middle of the Road

Morrie Ryskind exposes the fallacy of thinking the middle of the road stays put.

Page 2

Why Section 14b Should Be Retained

A dissection of the arguments used by the anti-right-to-work forces.

Page 8

What Has Happened to Profits?

Why American corporations are in a bind that threatens our national growth.

Page 12

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LBJ's Inaugural Address

Anyone Feel Inspired?

From the Richmond *News Leader*

It always is possible, we suppose, that somewhere in this broad land of ours, there exists in high public office a less inspiring speaker than Lyndon Baines Johnson, but the fates have been good to us: We have not heard him. For such small blessings, let one be duly thankful.

The President's inaugural address was so poor, in so many ways, that a decent respect for candor compels some cataloguing of its faults.

Mr. Johnson, arising to speak, casts his face into what may be termed his benign look. This is an expression somewhere between lugubrious and doleful; one expected him to begin not by addressing his fellow countrymen, but by remarking upon those gathered to mourn the dear departed. At some point in the past year, a helpful adviser must have suggested that the President would improve his delivery by an occasional smile; the President accepted this counsel so earnestly that he constantly works his mouth into a small uncomfortable grin. The trouble is that these manifestations of good cheer seldom match anything the least bit light in his text.

The speech ran to little more than 1,300 words. It required 23 minutes for delivery. That figures out to an average of 57 words a minute, or slower than Sunday morning waffles. Mr. Johnson measures out his speeches in solemn little teaspoons, like grandmother compounding a mineral tonic, and meanwhile the mind wanders. This excessive deliberation is not helped by a houn'dawg accent that converts prosperous to "prosperse," and forebears to "forebearers," and ants to "ayants." Nor is one warmed by those inscrutable eyes, as the proprietor of the Last Ditch Saloon coolly surveys the evening house.

One could forgive the sorghum molasses if the President had anything to say. He did not. His entire speech was one long platitude. "For every generation, there is a destiny. . . . The world will not be the same for our children. . . . Ours is a time of change . . . ." The striking novelty of these sentiments must leave every man impressed.

Mr. Johnson's theme was justice, liberty, and union. These are grand themes, and in times past other orators have put them to inspiring use. But not President Johnson. His stupefied audience interrupted with feeble applause at nine points only; the high moment came when he promised that "I will do the best I can." It seemed at the moment a prospect unhappily bleak.

Watching the screen, one could not avoid reaching back to Mr. Kennedy's inauguration four years ago. We never shared in the rapturous praise for Mr. Kennedy's address—it struck us as too artfully contrived—but at least that snowy day was filled with high excitement. One remembers that inaugural in the beautiful face of Robert Frost. This time the image is Luci Baines, dancing a hot Watusi.

Let us pray for patience. We are stuck with these locker-room homilies, delivered with the fudge sundae goodness of the One Great Scoutmaster of us all. As a politician, the President commands respectful admiration; as a philosopher, he succeeded in lifting the nation almost to boredom. In either circumstance, under politician or philosopher, it promises to be the longest four years since the firing on Sumter.

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Red View of Man

By DR. GERHART NIEMEYER

Dr. Niemeyer, professor of political science at Notre Dame, is the author of An Inquiry Into Soviet Mentality, *and one-time planning adviser for the State Department.*

Communists do not have any respect for individual man. They cannot, since their whole thinking is in terms of laws of history and of classes. An individual person is to them not a human being—that concept has for them no meaning—but a product of social class, and they look on him as a means for the fulfillment of historical laws.

The human person as an end in himself is a concept utterly alien to them, and so is, of course, the notion of freedom which flows from that idea of man. In their writings, when speaking of the state, they say in so many words that under their rule there cannot and must not be any freedom.

But, on the other hand, Communists strat from the assumption that they are now, and for a long time to come will be, in a minority position; in other words, they realize that the majority of their fellow men are not Communists and are not attracted to communism.

So they seek to capture their allegiance and support by means other than Communist arguments; for instance, by catering to prejudices or to opinions or to aims in which they, the Communists, ultimately do not themselves believe and which they ultimately seek to eliminate and destroy—but which they use for the time being as bait to capture the attention and support of other people. So for a certain interm period there is sometimes an appearance of individual freedom.

The Extreme Middle of the Road

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Foreword: Many requests came to me during the campaign to reprint a piece on the middle-of-the-roader, but more timely things kept coming up. But now that Dean Burch has been sacrificed to placate the gods and the headlines read "GOP Veers Back to Middle of Road," I believe it apropos. Here, then, is the gist of the column originally written in late 1963:

The ancient Greeks who kindled the torch of Western thought urged moderation in all things upon us. But we falter now and then and need to be reminded; and, recently, from pulpit and press have come jeremiads thundering against the dangers of extremism, left or right.

On this we are all happily in agreement, though liberals and conservatives still differ radically on what is extreme and tend to place the blame on the other fellow. If you tilt even slightly to portside, you may shudder (moderately, of course) at any conservative expression of opinion. And I have known liberals to have a moderate fit of intemperate language at the very mention of Nixon's name and to go moderately berserk at the sight of a Goldwater sticker.

Conversely, if you lean starboard, any pronunciamento by G. Mennen Williams or Orville Freeman may produce a mild case of rabies. I say mild because I know of only one instance where the patient is still barking vehemently and had to be put away for life; normally, six weeks in a straight jacket will do the trick.

But these are individual allergies, and on the basic issue we are one in our opposition to both left-wing and right-wing extremists. That much is all to the good.

There remains, however, another form of extremism I fear we overlook, that of the determined middle-of-the-roader. Extremely smug, he reminds me inevitably of Little Jack Horner because he is constantly putting in his thumb and pulling out a plum while exclaiming, "What a good boy am I!"

He glories in himself as an impartial umpire, handing down judgments with complete objectivity. Accuse him of favortism—as I shall—and he is wounded to the quick and calls on the heavens to testify that his stand has always been rigorously dead center.

So it has—and by that very attitude he has, I maintain, sided with the liberals against the conservatives. Let me describe the situation as I have watched it over the years.

It is, say, the late '30s or the early '40s. An issue arises. The conservative weighs the matter according to his principles—I assume for the sake of argument he has some, however outmoded—and takes his stand.

The liberal—also out of sincere conviction—automatically takes a position two paces left of his philosophical opponent. The middle-of-the-roader thinks, "Jim isn't a bad guy, nor is Tom. I hate to see them scrapping, so I'll take a place right between them."

But some years later the liberal says, "My stand was all right for the '30s or '40s, but these are the '50s" and he now takes six giant steps leftward. The conservative regards basic principles as eternal, no matter what the year, so he stands pat. The centrist now regards it as his bounden duty to remain in the middle and so moves three steps to the left.

And so on. By the '60s, of course, the ritualistic moderate has been so booby-trapped into following the liberal path that he is miles away from the position of benevolent neutrality he once assumed.

But try—as I have—to point this out to him, and you get only looks of disdain and a lofty, "I stand where I always stood, in the center." And don't ask, "Center of what?" He is so righteously indignant at your insulting query that he will begin to place you with the dangerous right-wing extremists. I know—because lately he's been calling me just that.

Maybe he's right. All I know, as I survey his current footing and his annual shift, is that he isn't as steady on his feet as he thinks. I used to be able to lean out and touch him, and now I need a telescope to find him. And come '64 I may not be able to spot him at all, because he may be on some other planet—dead center, as usual.

So I wrote—and in 1965 would write again. I get worried when the fellow who's supposed to cover center field for our side doubles in brass as left fielder for the opposition.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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Minimum Wage For Youth Corps

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

Under pressure from organized labor, the U. S. Labor Department has established a $1.25 minimum wage for all youths working in Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) projects under President Johnson's anti-poverty program.

It doesn't seem to matter that the jobs under the NYC program for the most part remain undefined, or the abilities of the job holders not established. Whatever the job, the employe is guaranteed the same as the federal minimum wage of $1.25 an hour.

Initial allocation for the Neighborhood Youth Corps called for federal grants totalling $12,075,000 for the establishment of 17 NYC projects in 15 states to provide training and employment to an estimated 22,380 young men and women living at home.

The biggest grants were $5 million to the New York City Poverty Operations Board, $1.9 million to the Los Angeles City and county schools, and $1,454,000 to Memphis.

The NYC's major aim is to give work experience to uneducated, untrained youths, many of whom have never worked before.

The program is designed to provide community service jobs in hospitals, libraries, playground and school programs, city agencies and other work that has a value to the community.

There are millions of productive Americans now holding jobs in the $1.25-an-hour pay range. They must have certain skills to obtain and hold these jobs.

But the federal government now proposes to pay uneducated, unskilled youths a minimum of $1.25 an hour for as yet unspecified tasks, bowing to the demands of organized labor.

A Labor Department spokesmen said the $1.25 minimum would not necessarily apply to hours spent in guidance and counseling sessions. We would certainly hope not.

The wisdom of applying the federal minimum wage of $1.25 an hour to an anti-poverty project is legitimately open to question.

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Churchill Broke All the Rules

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Everything good that can possibly be said of Winston Churchill will be true. But after all the eulogies are duly recorded, the wanton, stupid modern world will continue to pursue the current courses that go to make the emergence of another Churchill virtually impossible.

The fact is that Winston Churchill broke all the rules which are supposedly necessary to the creation of an effective 20th Century man. He was a bad scholar, and a school drop-out—but this only means that he eluded the orthodox ways of testing latent ability.

He learned to write, as he said, by reading Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Rome Empire* on his own when he was doing his tour of military duty in India, which places him in the ranks of the auto-didacts, or the self-taught. (Such people, as everyone knows today, cannot hope to get jobs with our many institutions which demand not only an A.B. degree but something beyond that.)

In his habits, Churchill was a believer in a certain amount of self-indulgence. He smoked—and his presence on the scene up through his 90th year is just about the only prestigious thing the tobacco companies now have going for them. He liked his brandy. He said many momentous things to keep Britain heartened in those dark days of 1940 and 1941, but the memory that pops into my mind ahead of all the others is one of Churchill lighting a cigar and saying to his fellow Britons, "We will forego our necessities, but not our pleasures." This must have caused Hitler more dismay than the speech about fighting on the beaches and on the streets.

The bad scholar and the anti-Puritan was also a most undisciplined politician. He "crossed the aisle" in Commons, quitting the Tory party quite early in life to become a Liberal. Then he crossed back again. The Tories were not exactly happy to have him, for he broke discipline in the '30s to warn against the pacifism of the Baldwin government and the appeasement policies of Neville Chamberlain. He was always an anomaly in politics because he didn't seem to mind going out of office if he couldn't do what he wanted while holding a position of supposed power.

Along with his willingness to go out of power rather than tamper with his own opinions went an incurable sardonic flippancy. He accused Neville Chamberlain of being a turnip mesmerized by a rabbit, the rabbit being Hitler. Clement Attlee, his successor as prime minister, was a "sheep in sheep's clothing." Communists, he said, had "green blood," and should be treated accordingly, as subhuman. In American politics such verbal indiscretions would have been fatal, as witness what happened to the flippant Barry Goldwater, who didn't really mean it when he threatened to lob a bomb into the men's room at the Kremlin.

Another Churchill characteristic was being right at what his immediate contemporaries often regarded as the wrong time. It was in 1946 at Fulton, Mo., that he put the phrase, the "Iron Curtain," into general currency—and it wasn't long before the world knew what he was talking about. But he first used the striking and prophetic phrase in a series of telegrams he sent to President Harry Truman in May and June of 1945. This is attested by William Franklin, the director of the Office of History of the U.S. State Department.

He called attention in 1963 to Churchill's early pre-Potsdam warnings to Roosevelt's successor that "an Iron Curtain will be pulled down" between East and West if the peacemakers insisted on creating a Soviet buffer zone between West Germany and Berlin, and between the Allied German zones and the Polish and Czechoslovak frontiers. Neither the British postwar Prime Minister Clement Attlee nor Truman was sufficiently impressed at Potsdam to do much about Churchill's warnings. They lived to regret it.

If we were to advise a young man today to take Churchill as his model, we would be counseling him not to worry about university degrees, or keeping a close rein on his tongue when he felt impelled to make a witty remark about a public personage, or speaking out with the truth at impolitic moments, or remaining constant to party or leader, or refraining from cigarettes or brandy. But maybe it is the mark of a young Churchill that he will do what he thinks best anyway, no matter what his surrounding culture-creators tell him he should or should not do.

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Symbolic of the society that produced Winston Churchill, St. Paul's Cathederal survives the Nazi bombing of London.

Would Head CIA

Lodge Being Pushed as McCone Successor

By VICTOR LASKY

A build-up for Henry Cabot Lodge to succeed John A. McCone as director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is under way. Whether the build-up has White House approval is not known. What is known is that friends of the 62-year-old Republican are increasingly talking it up.

Others are believed under consideration for the key "master spy" job. They include William Bundy, assistant secretary of state; Paul Nitze, Navy secretary; and Roswell Gilpatric, former under secretary of defense.

John McCone's "resignation" as head of the CIA is expected momentarily in Washington. But why President Johnson would want to see him go remains a big mystery. For McCone has done an outstanding job as head of the sprawling cloak-and-dagger operation which costs an estimated $700 million a year.

Many feel Henry Cabot Lodge's performance as ambassador in Viet Nam should disqualify him for the CIA post.

As an administrator, he shook up the agency and it is now functioning better than at any time since it was founded in 1948. But, more important, McCone has proved to be a thoroughly competent analyst of controversial intelligence information.

A life-long Republican, McCone was appointed by the late President Kennedy in November 1961 to succeed another Republican, Allen Dulles.

That Bobby Kennedy was one of McCone's enthusiastic supporters may be one of the things President Johnson holds against the CIA chief. There is no love lost between Bobby and Johnson. Whatever the facts may be, McCone for many months now has not had the same access to the White House as he had under the Kennedys. McCone, a proud man, knows his days are numbered.

Henry Cabot Lodge's supporters claim that "Cabot" would make an ideal replacement. First, as a Republican, he would occupy a post traditionally in Republican hands. Second, as a former diplomat and senator, he has an ideal background for a post which also requires keeping Congress happy. Third, "Cabot" need a job.

But Lodge's critics—and they are legion, particularly among Republicans—contend there is little in his recent record as ambassador to South Viet Nam to indicate he could handle the CIA job with efficiency and understanding.

In many ways the CIA directorship is more important than a Cabinet post. Not only does the director control the activities of James Bond-types all over the globe, but he is responsible for the evaluation of all secret data the President needs to make instant decisions in fast-breaking crises.

As ambassador in Saigon, Lodge did not demonstrate any great perceptive gifts. For one thing, he participated in the destruction of the Diem regime, meanwhile sheltering the notorious anti-American Buddhist leader, Trich Tri Quang, who is currently on a hunger strike in Saigon.

Last June, Lodge resigned as ambassador in order to participate in a fruitless effort to save the Republican party from Barry Goldwater. During the campaign, Lodge conveniently absented himself by roaming around Europe as President Johnson's emissary, explaining the U. S. position on South Viet Nam.

"He'd do better trying to explain it to the American people," one of Lodge's fellow Republicans said at the time.

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Unions Want to Socialize Railroads

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Some railway labor leaders are claiming they "can get a number of congressmen and senators" to back a bill to have the federal government take over and socialize the nation's railroads.

Fortunately, the labor leaders cannot yet get enough congressmen and senators to do the job. But they have served a warning that the American people should beware of.

The claim of the railroad union leaders is that the railroads aren't concerned with the public interest. But the truth of the matter is that the union leaders think they could use their political power on governmental officials to gain unreasonable concessions more effectively than they can use pressures against free enterprise railroads.

If we want to ruin America, a sure way to do it is to turn to socialism—government control or ownership of the means of production. Free enterprise must pay its own way and earn a profit; government is by nature inefficient, and is able to subsidize its failures by levying taxes on the people.

If railroads were to be socialized as some labor leaders suggest, then why not next socialize steel, then oil, then automobiles, then every kind of business? Then we would have a dictatorial system of stagnation, high cost and inefficiency instead of aggressive progress and competition and freedom.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• A clairvoyant Hubert? After Johnson's illness last week, politicos are stressing admiration for Humphrey's decision last year to alter previously held convictions about the vice-presidency. According to Doubleday's *This Is Humphrey*, Hubert once turned his nose up at the VP spot, saying it wasn't worth leaving his senate job for one "in which you would stand around waiting for somebody else to catch cold."

HUMPHREY

• *A number of politicos are saying LBJ's "under $100-billion budget" may be bad politics. If he had allowed it to top that amount in this non-election year, it is argued, the voters would be less likely to notice next year's budget which is bound clearly to exceed the magic $100-billion figure.*

• *Life* magazine reveals that LBJ is hunting for an invitation from Comrades Kosygin and Brezhnev to visit the Kremlin: "Johnson has wanted to go to Moscow for a long time. The arrangements had pretty well been worked out with Nikita Khrushchev last fall—but then Khrushchev lost his job. Now, Johnson is starting all over, and the oblique invitation to the new Russian leaders to visit the United States was really a gentle hint that LBJ would like to be invited there."

KOSYGIN

• *State Department officials say they don't want to balloon the Soviet violation of the test-ban pact to major proportions, but at the same time they are admittedly less than satisfied with Russia's explanation of the January 15 nuclear test which scattered radioactive debris into the atmosphere beyond the borders of the Soviet Union.*

• Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) was plugged recently by Radio East Berlin. Said the Red radio December 10: "Fulbright. . .stated that in the conflict between the West and the Communist world it is not a question of victory or defeat but only the choice between getting along with each other and mutual destruction. It is necessary, even if reluctantly, to recognize that it is not possible for the West to eliminate communism. The only possibility consists in building bridges to the Communist world. This was said by Fulbright on 8 December. . ."

FULBRIGHT

• *Many State Department and Department of Commerce officials are said to be "pleased" with a recent business committee's report recommending expansion of American trade with Red China. Prepared by the Committee to Explore Trade Possibilities with the People's Republic of China (part of the San Francisco Area World Trade Association of the Greater San Francisco Chamber of Commerce), the report says: "Communication and trade between mainland China and nations of the free world has been shown to be possible . . . and it could be profitable." The co-chairmen of the committee are B. T. Rocca Sr. of Pacific Vegetable Oil Corp. and Dr. Wayne MacKenzie Stevens, a consultant in international development. Its economic consultant is Hans Benhard.*

This Week in Washington

That Soaring Budget

The big news of the week was LBJ's unveiling of his multi-billion-dollar "disarmament and anti-poverty" budget. The President claimed it was under that seemingly magic $100-billion figure, but he fooled few on Capitol Hill. For the "administrative" budget—the one Johnson described—not only excluded Social Security, the highway program and other expensive projects, but was so filled with such accounting wizardry (see story below) that estimates are that the budget will soar several billion dollars above the Administration's deliberately falsified spending picture.

Even taking the Johnson presentation at face value, his $99.7-billion budget reached astronomical heights. It eclipses the previous budget high of $98.3 billion, set in the war year of 1945. It is $2.2 billion higher than the budget for the current fiscal year which ends June 30.

It calls for yet another deficit ($5.3 billion)—the sixth in as many years—and the new government spending is expected to send the national debt crashing through the $324-billion debt ceiling fixed by the last Congress. Indeed, LBJ has specifically requested legislation to raise the present debt limit.

LBJ's budget message held out the carrot to the voters by promising to try to abolish excise taxes. But the stick was there too: Johnson confessed that highway taxes had to be raised, since the cost of the highway program is now $6 billion more than previously estimated. And he said there would have to be an increase in the Social Security tax. Whereas persons now pay for Social Security on only the first $4,800 of their income, LBJ plans to tax the first $5,600. He also will ask for a hike in the Social Security tax rate that will bring it up to 8.5 per cent.

Reaction to the budget message was far from glowing:

Sen. Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), the much-admired chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, commented that the planned deficit would increase the public debt to the point that 12 cents of every dollar of federal revenue would go for just paying interest on the debt. "The federal debt now stands at $320 billion. It should be reduced in prosperous times, not increased," Byrd emphasized.

Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.) echoed the sentiments of many members: "The budget is replete with the same old magic tricks and sleight of hand.

"Despite the attempt to create an impression of thrift, the fact is that the only important economies in this budget are at the expense of national security. National defense expenditures are to be decreased, but expenditures of almost every other department are to be increased."

Hruska's remarks on national security were supported by the evidence. The budget shows that total obligational spending next year for strategic weapons will run $4.5 billion, compared with $9 billion only two years ago. Moreover, the new spending for continental air and missile defense will be cut from $2.1 billion last year to $1.8 billion. The number of warning radars will be reduced and the air defense interceptor squadrons cut from 39 to 34.

• Economic observers admit that all Presidents have used budget gimmicks; they just say LBJ has used more of them.

For example, the $80-million "decrease" in the Veterans Administration budget is a paper figure achieved by changing the dates on which checks are sent out so fewer will be mailed this fiscal year. No actual cuts in veterans' benefits are actually contemplated.

A similar "saving" is being made by altering the timing of payments to farmers who take land out of production. LBJ also plans to sell off $3.1 billion in government assets in order to reduce the size of his budget deficit.

LBJ's budget plans are also predicated on many questionable assumptions. He is guessing that federal revenues will rise by $3.2 billion next year, but last year he overestimated income growth by $1.8 billion. He also estimates a strong decline in farm spending, but last year the President underestimated subsidy payments to farmers by over $1 billion. Even last week LBJ was requesting a $1.6-billion supplemental appropriation for the Department of Agriculture.

How to Cut Spending

Can anything be done to stop the rise in government spending? A number of Senate lawmakers think so and are pushing for the creation of a Senate-House committee on the budget. The proposal was introduced by Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) and numbers among its co-sponsors such conservatives as Harry Byrd (D.-Va.) and John Williams (R.-Del.) and such liberals as Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.) and Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.). House members have introduced a similar proposal.

The purpose of the bill (S2) is to establish a group, composed of members of the Senate and House Appropriations Committee, which, in McClellan's words, "would be staffed with nonpartisan fiscal experts and technicians who would be engaged in making continuing studies of programs and expenditures proposed by the executive branch, 12 months of the year."

McClellan, who has served on the Senate Appropriations committee since 1949, says the appropriations committees in both houses are sorely lacking in adequate staffing and are forced to "rely upon the testimony of representatives of the executive branch who formulate the programs and present them in a light most favorable to their purposes."

The Bureau of the Budget, under both Eisenhower and Truman, recommended the creation of such a joint committee and President Johnson, as Senate majority leader, gave active support to this legislation. A number of lawmakers believe it could go a long way in helping Congress ride herd on government spending.

Setback for LBJ

House Republicans are taking their hats off to eight-year veteran Robert Michel (R.-Ill.), whose quick thinking handed a set-back to President Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic majority in the first substantive vote of the session.

The House last week was considering a $1.6-billion supplemental appropriation bill for the Commodity Credit Corporation when Michel, without previously tipping his hand, introduced a rider which would block the government from handing Gamal Abdel Nasser's UAR $37 million worth of surplus food under a public law of October 1962.

The Illinois lawmaker, who just the week before had introduced a resolution along similar lines, made a concise statement pointing out Nasser's anti-American, pro-Communist actions. With GOP leader Gerald Ford, he then lobbied to get a recorded vote, feeling that many legislators representing areas with a large bloc of Jewish voters would be more inclined to go along if their vote had to be counted.

Michel's strategy obviously caught the Democratic leadership off guard, but they did their best to stop it. Speaker John McCormack (Mass.) said it would hurt the President's prestige. House Majority Leader Carl Albert (Okla.) exclaimed: "What a victory it would be for Communist diplomacy"; Whip Hale Boggs (La.) begged that the House reject it by "a sizeable vote" and House Appropriations Committee Chairman George Mahon (Tex.) protested it would drive Nasser closer "to the Soviet Union and Red China." But when the final role call came 76 Democrats and every one of the 128 Republicans present voted

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for the Michel rider, approving it 204 to 177.

• The House vote on supplementary appropriations for the Commodity Credit Corporation came because the Administration last year underestimated by over a billion dollars the cost of the farm program to the Department of Agriculture. Administration spokesmen had said, for instance, that the wheat-cotton bill would result in a saving of $200 million. "What are the facts?" asked Michel. "The facts are that there will not be a saving of $200 million at all, but there will be a cost of more than $300 million in addition to what was conceived to be the cost of the program."

Michel further pointed out that five years ago, under Eisenhower, it cost only $5.4 billion to run the Department of Agriculture, whereas it will cost about $6.8 billion in the current fiscal year.

Lausche's Congo Warning

On-the-spot observers in the Congo are continuing to warn that Red-inspired Congolese rebels are set to launch a massive counter-attack against the pro-Western government of Moise Tshombe. Word in the past few weeks is that enough equipment has been assembled on the Congolese borders to "arm, conservatively, 30 to 40 rebel battalions in the bush." Indications are that a major attack may be launched from the French Congo.

Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, says his information is that "before the passing of another month, intensified action in the Congo will be started by the rebels."

A warning of the ominous rebel build-up also comes from an American doctor, William Close of Greenwich, Conn., who has been residing in the Congo for nearly five years. Close is chief surgeon to the Congolese army and is a physician at the American Embassy.

The dramatic arming of the rebels caused him to drop his Congolese duties and come to the United States to tell the State Department of the impending rebel "putsch." The department, however, has ho-hummed the entire matter, though it admits it expects an "eventual attack."

A much-admired expert on the Congo, Close tells *Human Events* that the best thing the American government can do now to aid Tshombe is to give unstinting support to his desire to hold elections and establish a constitution. The rebels, said Close, are doing everything to make the elections impossible, since they believe Tshombe's popularity would sweep him into power.

Close also says the State Department should send Tshombe advisers who understand the country's situation and make it crystal clear to the Congolese that the American government will not allow Tshombe to go the way of Ngo Dinh Diem. (For more on the threat of assassination that constantly worries the Congolese leader and his intimate advisers, see page 10.)

Nixon's Advice on Viet Nam

The latest wave of Buddhist-led violence in South Viet Nam was "very distressing," said the senator, but "I don't see any signs of another coup in the offing." That statement, by Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was made about 18 hours before Lt. Gen. Nguyen Khanh successfully overthrew the U.S.-imposed civilian government.

The coup also caught Gen. Maxwell Taylor flatfooted, delivering a serious blow to his prestige. Taylor, America's ambassador to Viet Nam, was in Thailand while it was being carried out.

The news, once again, demonstrated that disaster is imminent for America in Viet Nam, though the Administration refuses to face up to the situation. Former Vice President Richard Nixon, speaking to the Sales Executive Club in New York, warned last week: "If our strategy is not changed, we will be thrown out in a manner of months—certainly within the year."

He proposed the United States commit the Navy and Air Force to "quarantine" the war by cutting Communist supply lines to South Viet Nam and destroying Communist staging areas in North Viet Nam and Laos.

Columnist Joseph Alsop also hinted that disaster lay ahead, adding that Johnson had nixed expanding the war to any significant degree. ". . . as of now," said Alsop, "we are drifting towards final defeat."

Military Unintelligence

President Johnson may run into some stiff opposition over his request to Congress that it authorize $55 million for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency over a four-year period. The reason: a recent expose by the American Security Council of one of the ACDA's "studies" called "Study FAIR, Volume I, Studies on Information and Arms Control."

In essence, notes the Security Council report, Study FAIR contains a proposal devised for our intelligence community "which would require that we lie to ourselves about Soviet nuclear capabilities and the Kremlin's plans."

Since the expose, a copy of Study FAIR has come into *Human Events* hands, though it was by no means easy to obtain. Staff members of *Human Events* were told by ACDA that there weren't any copies available, though 250 of them had been printed as of May 1963. The Institute for Defense Analysis, a government subsidized agency which prepared the booklet for ACDA, finally loaned a copy to *Human Events* for just 30 days.

Study FAIR, it turns out, was not only financed by the ACDA, but, according to the study itself, was partially financed by "the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs," which has become a highly important disarmament agency and is implanted squarely in the Pentagon.

Its recommendations for gathering intelligence are of immense interest:

• Study FAIR concludes, amazingly enough, that there is a "need for restraint in providing and obtaining certain kinds of intelligence" because such intelligence might have a destablizing effect on the arms race.

• The study concludes the United States might have to seek out "target locations" particularly if the "enemy is about to strike." But it stresses "there is reason to emphasize the dangers in possessing this kind of information and the arguments for minimizing it." Possessing such information, says the report, "does increase the likelihood that the United States" will make a first strike in order to pre-empt a Soviet strike.

• Study FAIR looks dimly on our installing, unilaterally, any information gathering system since this might worry the Soviets and since the "United States will be sorely tempted to maximize the amount of intelligence obtained." Indeed, within limits, says the study, "it may even be wise . . . to agree on procedures on halting some kinds of information gathering at critical periods" in order not to stir up a crisis situation in which such information might encourage the United States to strike at the Soviets.

• The report also calls for the "cessation" of transmitting information during a crisis. "If it did turn out that observation satellites equipped with television could provide substantial information on the location of mobile missiles, it might be desirable to be able to turn the cameras off by mutual consent, reactivating them only after the crisis had passed."

This document is now going under the intense perusal of several congressmen.

• Two more Kentucky communities have enacted local right-to-work ordinances. The towns of Calhoun and Lewisport bring to 25 the number of communities in the state to enact the statutes guaranteeing voluntary unionism.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• California Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown delivered his "state of the state" message recently and received sharp criticism from Republicans and Democrats alike. The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Democrat George Miller Jr., rapped Brown for talking of new programs without saying where the funds will come from or how much money will be required. State Senate President Pro Tempore Hugh Burns, another Democrat, said he would oppose the governor on a number of proposals, including a limitation on the right of the people to bear arms, extension of unemployment compensation to farm workers and elimination of the two-thirds vote required for approval of the state budget.

BROWN

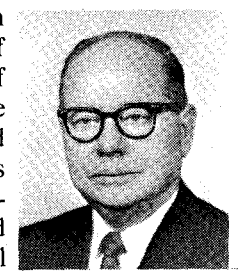
• *President Johnson isn't the only one making budget history these days. Gov. Rockefeller of New York estimates that his state's budget will be close to the $3.5 billion mark—a jump of more than $600 million—while Democratic Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown has sent the California legislature a record $4.026-billion budget.*

• A "minority report" on the President's State of the Union message has been filed by a Democratic congressman, New York's Otis Pike. The Long Island lawmaker noted the "Great Society" promises a "little something for everyone," then acidly observed: "I for one am not wholly enthusiastic about living in a great society today, financed on credit, and paid for by my children tomorrow. I believe that the price tag should be displayed, along with the vision."

PIKE

• *The Nevada State AFL-CIO has admitted failure in its drive to gather signatures for initiative petitions to repeal the state "right-to-work" law. Louis Paley, executive secretary of the state AFL-CIO, said the chances of the legislature repealing the law on its own appeared "dim," even though both houses are controlled by Democrats. The Nevada right-to-work law was enacted in 1952 by popular vote. Big Labor tried to get it repealed by referendum in 1954 and 1956 but the repeal measures were rejected by the voters.* *(For more on right-to-work see page 8.)*

• In a letter to constituents, Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) has called the construction faults in the Veterans Administration Hospital in Boston "one of the most serious scandals of our time." Even before "the structure was completed and fully occupied," Curtis charged, "it began to disintegrate. . . . It is estimated that reconstruction costs will total $4.9 million." The repairs, said Curtis, are being done by a New York firm, not the McCloskey construction company of Philadelphia, the original contractor. Matthew McCloskey, an important fund raiser for the Democrats, has figured prominently in the Bobby Baker probe but has denied accusations that he did anything illegal.



CURTIS

• *Presidential staff offices at the White House will be given a $95,587 refurbishing over the next two months. Work will be done on the weekends and at night, Presidential Press Secretary George Reedy revealed, so as not to disturb the Chief Executive. What this means is that the White House must pay carpenters and laborers double and triple-time for their efforts.*

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No Security in Disarmament

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

In a national news magazine, Gen. Thomas S. Power, former chief of the Strategic Air Command, has asked the United States to re-evaluate the desirability of "disarmament"—which so many prominent Americans today identify with the Promised Land.

It remains a fact today that the surest and only proven way to prevent nuclear war—the goal of the disarmers as well as SAC—is to retain such military superiority over all available foes as to make it, in Gen. Power's clause, "ridiculous for anybody to even think of attacking the United States."

America enjoys that strategic superiority now because of decisions made a decade ago. Whether we will enjoy that superiority a decade hence will depend upon decisions the nation's leaders are making today.

What are some of those decision? We are being urged to cut drastically our conventional forces. Recently, Soviet military leaders were crowing over their victory at having convinced the Kremlin to maintain the huge Russian land armies.

To cut our conventional forces while the Soviets maintain theirs is simply a form of unilateral disarmament—one more temptation to the aggressor.

Today we hear supposedly responsible Americans speak for an international ban on the use of nuclear weapons, thinking this would help to guarantee the peace.

It seems apparent the United States does not intend to maintain the overwhelming superiority which has kept the peace to date, but is willing to settle for something quite less. The limited test-ban treaty is an indication.

In it we forfeited the right to test our fixed missile sites for vulnerability to nuclear attack. How will the missiles in silos behave if a nuclear weapon is detonated in the vicinity? Will "blackout" or "shock propagation" cripple their performance?

With this question mark raised over the land-based missiles, it is essential for this country to maintain a variety of retaliatory weapons. This would include, of course, the Polaris submarines with their 16 missiles apiece.

But that variety must include bombers, for the Soviets, like the United States, are developing an anti-missile missile.

If we continue along our present course, it is not outside the realm of possibility that the United States will find itself in 1975 depending entirely on ICBMs while the Soviets have perfected and have operational a vast arsenal of anti-ICBMs. This would hugely increase the temptation to think that America might be struck with relative impunity.

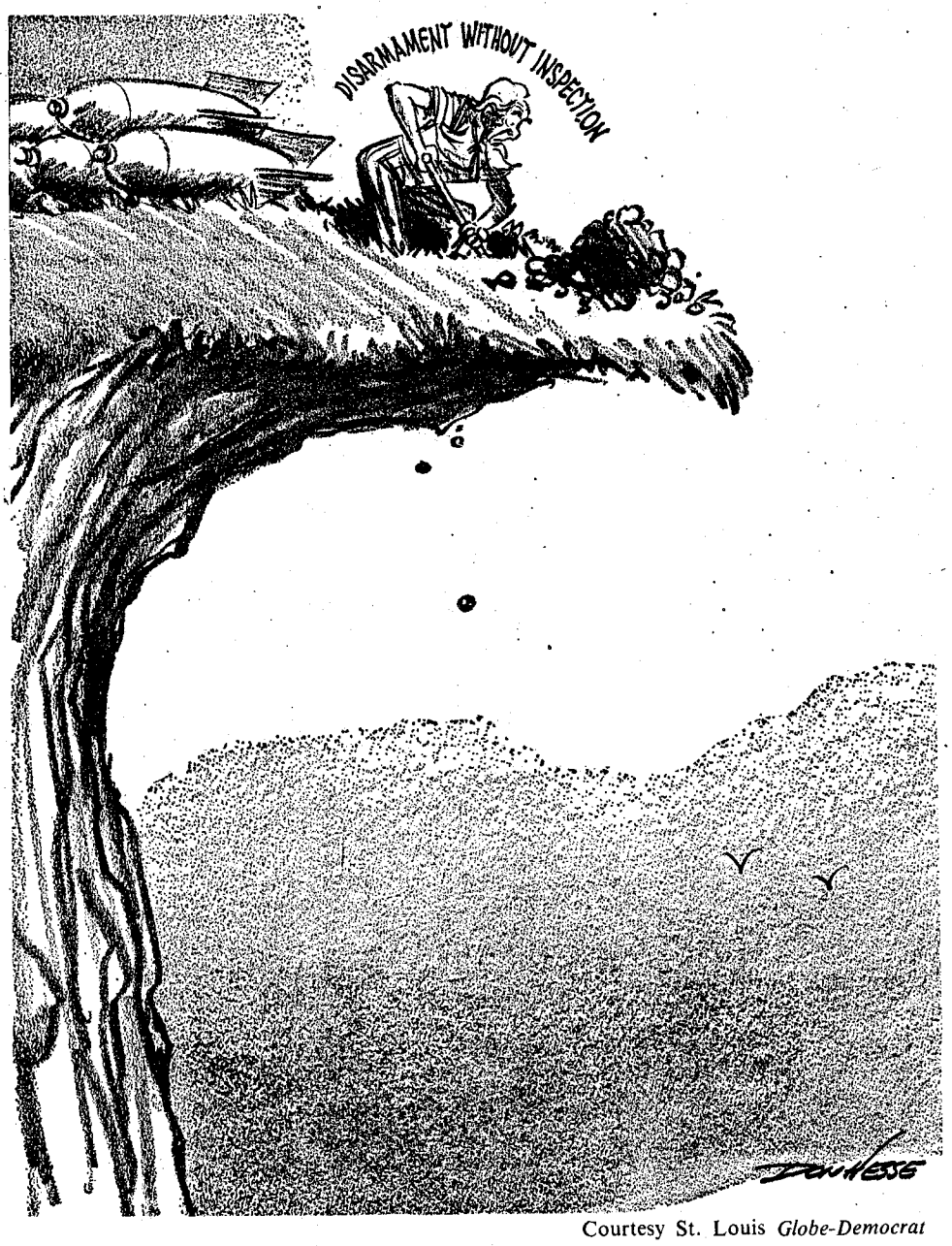
But those missile killers may well be vulnerable to a manned bomber coming in "on the deck" at several times the speed of sound. These bombers could destroy anti-missile sites from stand-off distance with missiles of their own before America's Minuteman or Polaris weapons were fired.

It has been 10 years since the development of the B-52. There is need for a new bomber. The advance in weapons and aircraft technology would enable this country to produce a near invulnerable manned weapon for SAC.

To deter, a force must be of such overwhelming superiority as to convince any potential attacker that retaliation would be immediate, certain and total.

If the deterring force appears to be slightly vulnerable, or possibly inadequate, to guarantee the attacker's destruction, then to that degree there is increased the temptation of new Caesars to risk war.

Burying Them in a Dangerous Place



Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Is LBJ's 'Great Society' Unconstitutional?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Those of us who are critical of President Johnson's "Great Society" have a responsibility, or so it seems to me, to make it clear just why we think the President is wrong.

It comes down to this—if the ends were all that mattered, there would be nothing wrong with the "Great Society." It would be a marvelous thing, to live in a land in which all children were educated to the limit of their capacity, all men were decently housed, all sicknesses were cured, and all the highways were cleared of litter. To read over the several presidential messages is to catch a glimpse of purest paradise.

But it was Macaulay who once remarked that an acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia. The ends are not all that matter. The great fault in the "Great Society" is not in the cost or the concept, but in the violence that would be done to the federalist system under our Constitution.

To reach his glorious ends, Johnson would simply brush aside all the old restraints upon the powers of the federal government. He would reduce the states to mere administrative dependencies and convert a once self-reliant people into a flock of contented sheep. To embrace the "Great Society," in the Johnson version, is to embrace a centralization of authority that our fathers wisely have rejected.

We never turn back sufficiently to fundamentals. The grand design of this republic, from the very beginning, has contemplated a federal government of limited powers. The authority that is delegated to the Congress "to lay taxes and provide for the common defense and general welfare," as Madison many times made clear, is not an open-ended grant to spend money on any venture the Congress may favor.

"It is evident," said Madison, "that there is not a single power whatever, which may not have some reference to the common defense, or the general welfare nor a power of any magnitude which in its exercise does not involve or admit an application of money."

Johnson's proliferating proposals must constantly be weighed in terms of our constitutional system. "Whenever money is to be applied to a particular measure," in the Madison view, "a question arises, whether the particular authority be within the enumerated authorities vested in Congress." The trouble with much of the Johnsonian program is that no such authority exists, or that it exists only by a sophistical stretching of our fundamental law.

As an abstract proposition, who is not in favor of good housing, better schools, more beautiful cities? How is it possible to oppose federal grants for libraries, hospitals, college dormitories, the training of local police?

The answer must be that when public housing is justified in the name of the power to raise and support armies (which was the bland assertion, back in the days when these questions were debated), the Constitution is being perverted and we are better off without the public housing.

These days such questions are not much debated; the general welfare clause is viewed as a soft and woolly blanket that snugly covers us all. The city council that is invited to accept a federal grant for the laying of local sewers seldom asks "how come?" It only asks "how much?" and the college president, tempted by a fat grant from Washington, cannot pause to chop logic over questions of check and balance. If he doesn't take it, somebody else will.

The danger in all this is that the strength and energy and variety of the federalist system must inevitably be drained away. The people in their towns and counties and states will continue to make some decisions, but the primary decisions will be made by some other men, some place else.

Programs of public welfare already are controlled by the grant of federal funds. State roads increasingly are built to federal standards. Public education stands next in line. And just down the road stand the clinics and hospitals and health centers of the "Great Society."

Perhaps the people of the United States want it this way; if so, a decent respect for ancient institutions should prompt them to amend their Constitution and not to ignore it. My own guess is that the people do not truly want the greater centralization of power that is implicit in Johnson's designs; on reflection, they may conclude that the real world of Middlesex beats the dream world of Utopia.

To borrow again from Macaulay, "Nothing is so galling to a people, not broken in from birth, as a paternal or, in other words, a meddling government, a government which tells them what to read and say and eat and drink and wear."

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

□ □ □

IF LBJ SEEMED abstracted during the inauguration ceremonies, there was a reason. He was figuring out the next "Great Society" problem—how to get peanut butter out of a small boy's hair.—By Jack Wilson in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

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Red Arms Challenge U.S. Viet Policy; Will Jenkins Be Called to Testify?

From the Allen-Scott Report

The appearance of modern Russian arms in the battle for South Viet Nam is raising serious new military and political questions for President Johnson.

Soviet-made 37mm radar-controlled anti-aircraft batteries, which destroyed two of the Air Force's most modern fighter-bombers and damaged 11 others in one U.S. raid, are being installed along the important Communist communication lines and storage areas in Laos and North Viet Nam.

The unexpected use of these rapid-fire Soviet anti-aircraft guns, capable of downing the speediest U.S. fighter-bombers, has drastically changed the tactical air situation in the Vietnamese war.

Ambassador Maxwell Taylor, who estimates the new Russian guns will double U.S. air losses, is seeking permission from the President to bomb these Communist strong points at will rather than wait for permission from Washington for each air strike.

At present these tightly controlled air raids are being directed from the office of presidential assistant McGeorge Bundy rather than by Ambassador Taylor, who is supposed to be bossing U.S. military operations in South Viet Nam.

Presidential assistant McGeorge Bundy runs much of Viet Nam war from his White House desk.

High-ranking Air Force officers are privately protesting that this long-range political direction of air strikes is making it almost impossible for U.S. authorities in Saigon to take effective action against Communist supply operations.

While these strictly controlled air attacks make big headlines in the United States and seemingly indicate a tougher stand by the Administration, the officers point out that the military results so far show this impression is highly misleading.

The Air Force officers contend that the air strikes—less than one-third of those requested by Ambassador Taylor—are so limited by the White House that the raids are only delaying and not stopping North Vietnamese supply shipments to the pro-Red Pathet Lao and Viet Cong forces.

The officers argue that the mounting toll in U.S. jets isn't worth either the military or political results unless the bombing raids are expanded to include communication and storage targets in North Viet Nam.

By extending the war, they believe the new attacks could immediately cut U.S. air losses by smashing the railroad yards near Hanoi where the Russian-made 37mm anti-aircraft guns are being unloaded and assembled, and Vietnamese troops are trained to operate the batteries.

These raids have been opposed by Bundy and Secretary Rusk on the ground such U.S. action would escalate the war rather than bring about the negotiated settlement in South Viet Nam that President Johnson is secretly trying to arrange.

Under present Administration policy the United States is using the "limited" air strikes against the Communist communication lines in Laos to pressure North Viet Nam into seeking a negotiated settlement.

Former presidential aide Walter Jenkins could shed much light on Bobby Baker investigation.

The President also has secretly sent repeated messages through Moscow to Hanoi and Peking offering to withdraw U.S. military advisers immediately in exchange for a military truce in South Viet Nam.

According to congressional leaders briefed at the White House recently, the President admitted his strategy has failed to produce the expected results, but he plans to continue it temporarily.

While not completely ruling out Ambassador Taylor's requests for air strikes in North Viet Nam in the future, the President told the legislators he still hopes to negotiate a broader diplomatic arrangement with Peking and Russia guaranteeing an acceptable solution for the United States in Asia.

The President gave no details, and none of the bipartisan group of legislators pressed him for further information.

* * *

It's far from certain that Walter Jenkins will testify before the Senate Rules Committee when it resumes its on-again off-again Bobby Baker investigation.

Lennox McLendon, committee counsel, has let it be known the former long-time close assistant of President Johnson has been "alerted" to appear soon. But, highly significant, Jenkins has maintained tight-lipped silence on that, and possibly even more revealing, White House insiders are dropping enigmatic hints.

They are pointedly noting certain potential obstacles that may enable Jenkins, once again, to escape embarrassing grilling:

- McLendon's admission to newsmen that he doesn't know whether Jenkins' doctor will allow him to come before the committee. Several months ago the doctor barred that on the ground Jenkins had not recovered from the "acute exhaustion" that followed his sensational arrest on a morals charge.

- The contention that the Rules Committee, at its last meeting on December 9, did not formally vote to summon Jenkins; that this was "only an informal agreement." This is hotly denied by Sen. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, only Republican present at this session, whose insistent demand Jenkins be interrogated was unanimously approved by the five Democratic committeemen.

- A backstage Adminstration plan to "transfer" the long-bumbling Baker probe to a new Ethics Committee—voted last year, but still nonexistent. Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield, of Montana, has yet to do anything about naming the six members—three Democrats, three Republicans. It's strongly suspected that shifting the Baker investigation to the new committee would mean further stalling and possible eventual shelving of it entirely.

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A Way to Cut the Federal Budget

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.), a member of the House Agriculture Committee, has introduced a farm bill which should appeal to President Johnson in his professed objective of holding down federal spending.

The bill proposes a three-year program for feed grains and wheat to cost a maximum of $750 million annually. The government last year spent $1.2 billion on direct feed grain subsidies alone, and similar expenditures are predicted for this year. Sen. Ellender (D.-La.), chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, estimates the feed grain program has cost $5.2 billion in the last four years.

Estimates of the cost of the wheat program are hard to come by, inasmuch as the program authorized last year by Congress under extreme pressure from Mr. Johnson himself shifts much of the cost to flour millers, which means consumers are paying it in higher prices for bread and other baked goods.

Rep. Findley's bill would lower price guarantees for feed grains and wheat to bring them into closer relation to market prices. It would abolish marketing quotas and crop history bases, and would encourage voluntary retirement of feed grain and wheat acreage from production. The objective is to reduce both crop surpluses and government costs, and at the same time provide farmers with some economic protection during a period of adjustment designed to "create an atmosphere in which the market system can work."

The bill suggests not only a way in which the President can trim the federal budget, but also offers a course to restore more influence to the free market. We expect, however, that Mr. Johnson and his secretary of agriculture, Orville Freeman, will pay scant attention to this bill. The President's national agricultural advisory commission already has recommended continuing the present feed grain and wheat programs, and even possibly expanding the former to include soybeans.

Mr. Freeman, moreover, has provided ample evidence that he is no believer in the free market, which he calls the "law of the jungle."

Beyond that, the Administration is well aware that Rep. Findley's bill incorporates the recommendations of the American Farm Bureau Federation and its affiliate, the Illinois Agricultural Assn., long-time foes of Democratic spending and control policies for agriculture. It would be surprising if Mr. Johnson did not consider these to be sufficient objections to overcome whatever impulse he might have to save the taxpayers some money and restore agriculture to a sounder economic basis.

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HUMPHREY AND THE ADA

When President Johnson tapped Sen. Hubert Horatio Humphrey (D.-Minn.) to be his running mate in Atlantic City, he thrust the issue of left-wing extremism into the forefront of this year's presidential campaign. For Sen. Humphrey, who could wind up a heart beat away from the presidency, is a founder and a former national chairman of one of the most radical political organizations in the United States: the Americans for Democratic Action.

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But Sen[illegible] come the f[illegible] to become [illegible] States.

What so[illegible] espouse? [illegible] publican [illegible] Burch has sug[illegible] be called "Americans for Socialistic Action." Arthur Schlesinger Jr., formerly John F. Kennedy's speechwriter and a bigwig in the ADA, has refused to repudiate a 1947 magazine article in which he wrote: "There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals."

In a private conversation several years ago with a group of visiting European trade-unionists, Hubert Humphrey frankly stated that in Europe he would be classified as a Soci[illegible]

[illegible]on, the World Court, which includes jurists from Communist nations, could

. . ."I shall be in the cloakroom," says the Vice President

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Why Should Labor Unions Be Exempt From Anti-Trust Laws?

In his State of the Union address, President Johnson promised the labor bosses he would try to carry out one of their long-desired wishes: repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, a clause commonly known as the right-to-work provision. Under this section, the states have been allowed to pass laws which make it illegal for union membership to be made a condition of employment.

The Virginia right-to-work statue, for example, provides that "It is hereby declared to be the public policy of Virginia that the right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization."

Such a law now exists in 19 states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia and Wyoming.

The bosses of organized labor have launched a massive campaign to pressure Congress into repealing Section 14b and thus strike down these state statutes. The article below, excerpted from a report by the National Association of Manufacturers' Industrial Relations Department, examines the seven main arguments used by the labor chieftains in their anti-14b propaganda campaign.

In a right-to-work state, union membership becomes a purely voluntary undertaking—and the individual has full freedom to choose. To overcome the emotional thinking frequently aroused by this subject, one should recognize that the right to choose is as much protection to one who desires to join a union as it is to one who does not. The issue of compulsory versus voluntary unionism is, therefore, the only real issue at stake.

But all manner of arguments have been raised to becloud this truth. Efforts have been made to convert this issue into questions of being for or against unions as such, or deciding whether labor unions are good or bad, whether they really bring any benefits to employes. None of these should enter into the argument. Only one question is to be decided: Should a man be forced to join a union as a condition of employment?

A closer look at the grounds on which right-to-work laws have been attacked reveals first of all that none of the well-worn phrases in the union "line" come to grips with the issue of compulsory versus voluntary unionism.

Although the following refer to "union" arguments, it should be observed that these are the standard arguments of union professionals, not of the rank-and-file members, many of whom do not share the views of union officialdom on this subject. These union charges touch only the periphery of the question. An examination of the arguments will disclose their invalidity:

1. The union charge that right-to-work laws destroy unions

There is a very real question about the wisdom of maintaining any organization if it can be held together only when members are forced to join.

That unionism does not need the crutch of compulsion is amply demonstrated by the fact that during the years when the Railway Labor Act prohibited any form of compulsory union membership (1934-51), the non-operating unions trebled their membership, greatly strengthened their financial position and extended their jurisdiction to cover practically the entire railroad mileage of the country.

Acceptance of labor unions does not require condoning or participating in practices which are abuses of freedom—nor is it evidence of anti-unionism to stand on this principle. Trade unions today are not small, oppressed groups, struggling for survival. Instead, unions today

- exercise vast powers over people
- give or take away jobs
- control the economic destiny of a business
- have bulging treasuries from tax-free sources
- enjoy extra-legal privileges denied to other organizations
- are some 17 million strong.

Unions are obviously not in danger of liquidation—and nothing in right-to-work laws attempts to destroy them. "Right-to-work" simply means that a worker must be given the opportunity to choose for himself whether union representation is good and is something he needs. To label these laws "right-to-wreck," "union-busting" laws is a typical attempt to slur with no more basis in fact than the branding of the Taft-Hartley Act as a "slave labor" law. Defamation is no substitute for truth.

2. The union charge that right-to-work laws permit "free riders"

A "free rider" is defined as one who gets the benefit of union representation without paying union dues. The "free rider" argument assumes that the only reason an employe may want to stay out or withdraw from a union is to avoid payment of dues. Many people desire to stay out of a union for religious reasons, or because they oppose the union leadership, or because they don't want their money spent for causes to which they object.

Moreover, since only a portion of the dues and assessments paid by members is spent for collective bargaining as such, many employes rightfully object to the additional purposes for which union funds are spent.

Unions spend the monies they collect from union members on many other activities—such as political campaigns,[1] organizing campaigns, social and economic propaganda, strike benefits to other unions, private benefits to officers and legal fees. Rather than benefit the individual, in some cases these expenditures many actually be detrimental to his interests or in opposition to his beliefs.

Indeed, rather than being a "free rider," under compulsory unionism the employe becomes in fact, a "captive passenger."

It should also be pointed out that unions fought long and hard, exerting their full strength in Congress, to win "exclusive bargaining rights"—the right to speak and bargain not only for their own members, but for all others in a bargaining unit. This privilege and obligation was established in the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Amendments.

Under these circumstances it comes in poor grace for unions to point to the privilege of exclusive representation of all members in a given bargaining unit, as a burden placed on them by government, because all employes who are forcibly bound by the terms of a contract negotiated by the union might not be paying dues. In obtaining this unique power the unions have effectively taken from the individual employe his power to deal with and contract directly with his employer.

Furthermore, in no other area of human association of any significance exists the economic and political power that the unions have to compel membership. Yet in many other areas all members of the group accept whatever benefits may result from group action and may or may not bear their fair share of the costs of such group action.

While unions exclaim in the name of democratic principles, we may well examine the true price an individual pays for membership. Far beyond the mere exaction of dues to defray the cost of theoretical benefits is the requirement that an individual surrender his personal convictions in servitude to the mandates of the union.

A distressing story was published in the New York *Times* (May 17, 1959) under the bold caption: "Can a Union Member be Forbidden to Campaign Publicly for a Political Candidate Opposed by His Union?" The answer provided by every level of the International Association of Machinists hierarchy was that a union member had no such right. The members who supported a political proposition contrary to the views of the union were expelled. The expulsion order was upheld by the union's president, A. J. Hayes, who said that the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech do not entitle a union member to oppose the position of the labor movement. One of the defendants said, "I am guilty of nothing more than exercising my right as an American citizen."

Unions have attempted to draw an analogy between union dues and taxes. To accept this would require granting the unions the status of an arm of government. It has been wisely said that there is a vast difference between an enactment of Congress or a state legislature governing (for) all the provisions of a labor contract between an employer and a union.

In the famous Lincoln Union case, testing the constitutionality of right-to-work laws in 1949, the AFL actually

Samuel Gompers, the father of modern American unionism, urged upon the workers of America "devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty —the principles of voluntarism." He warned that "no lasting gain has ever come from compulsion."

and ingeniously made such a claim before the Supreme Court.

In upholding the constitutionality of right-to-work laws, the court characterized the union claim as "startling."

3. The union argument that if a majority of employes want to organize, then all employes should be forced to join and support the union.

Majority rule is a fine American tradition, but Americans are not forced to join the majority. If the union-advocated rule that the minority must support the majority were extended to other segments of our society an individual could, for example, be forced to join and support the majority political party in his election district or the church attended by the majority of people in his community.

Such compulsions clearly would be intolerable invasions of our basic rights and the situation is not changed because labor leaders are the invaders. The rights of the majority are always tempered by the rights of the minority. Obviously a majority cannot compel a minority to do many things:

- It cannot compel the minority to commit illegal acts;
- It cannot compel the minority to change their thinking or attitudes;
- It cannot stifle continuing minority opposition and dissent, nor can it obviate the possibility of shifting power from the majority to the minority;
- It cannot compel the minority to give up basic individual rights guaranteed under the Constitution;

WHAT YOU CAN DO

A poll by Opinion Research Corporation last year reported that when the American public was asked "Which of these arrangements do you favor for workers in industry?" 67 per cent chose a set-up in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union" (the right-to-work principle). Only 2 per cent favored an arrangement in which "a man can get a job only if he belongs to a union."

Nevertheless, the bosses of organized labor possess a powerful lobby and the coming congressional fight over Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits state right-to-work laws should be close. Letters from concerned Americans could make the difference.

Sen. Patrick McNamara (D.-Mich.) and Rep. Frank Thompson (D.-N. J.) have already introduced bills to repeal 14b. The McNamara bill is S256 and the Thompson measure is H. R. 77. Other similar bills will undoubtedly be introduced within the next few weeks.

Write your senator and representative immediately, telling them that you oppose the McNamara and Thompson measures and any other which would repeal Section 14b.

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- It cannot prevent members of the majority from withdrawing their support whenever they so desire.

But many of these protections are not available to a man forced to join a union. Through fear for his livelihood he can be forced to engage in illegal strikes, in illegal mass picketing, violence and coercion. He can be forced into Communist or racketeer-dominated unions. He can be forced to provide financial support to political parties and issues to which he may be opposed, without any effective remedy. He can be fined by his union for working when it wants him to strike,[2] or for exceeding work quotas set by union resolutions or by-laws which destroy his right to earn more by producing more.[3]

As a practical matter he cannot withdraw his support of the union and continue to hold his job. He cannot freely or even safely oppose union leaders, question their policies or activities or demand accountings of his dues and fees; he has to think twice before he objects to anything his union officers are doing. The fellow he complains about is the one who can expel him from the union—and if he's out of the union, for all practical purposes, especially when the union has a corner on the craft, he must either change his vocation or become unemployed.

Majority rule prevails in all democratic forms of organization, but students of this principle even under the Constitution, which is the fountainhead of our democratic process, point out that the majority rule is by no means absolute.

Indeed, the measure of a true democracy can be found in the protections it gives its minorities.

4. The union argument regarding freedom of contract

Union claim that any law which prohibits or interferes with the negotiation of compulsory unionism clauses interferes with "freedom of contract," and therefore it impedes collective bargaining.

- Appears to be a one-way street. Most employers are opposed to compulsory unionism on the grounds that it is an unconscionable invasion of the fundamental rights of their employes. But such clauses are often imposed on employers by coercion, strikes and threats of strikes, and thus are as coercive of employers as of employes. There is little freedom of contract when coercion dominates the negotiating atmosphere. notwithstanding the employer's strong personal convictions favoring freedom of choice for his employes, he many times has no alternative but to accede to the principle of compulsion, lest his business be destroyed.
- Ignores the moral issue. To use the "freedom of contract" argument to destroy the freedom of the individuals who make up the union is totally inconsistent with the basic moral right of an American citizen to pursue life, liberty and happiness. Destruction of the human right of freedom to contract is an obvious contradiction, particularly when equated in the true purpose of the contract itself, to benefit the individual.

5. The union argument that unions need the security of compulsory unionism

Union leaders say that they need the security of compulsory unionism to strengthen their position with employers, to protect themselves against rival unions, and to enable them to perform their mission of organizing the unorganized.

If the security argument ever had any validity, it has long since ceased to exist. The plain fact is that unions are the single most powerful, most dominating economic and political force in the country today. With their complete control over the individual through compulsory membership, unions acquire a monopoly power. Clearly, legal restraints are needed.

Long experience has proved that democratic and responsible unions, which function on the basis of voluntary support of their members, can obtain all the benefits possible in the prevailing economic climate. Having won the loyalty and support of their members, such unions have little difficulty in resisting raiding unions. Since they have placed membership on the high plateau of desirability, membership recruitment is not a major problem.

Many friends of the labor movement, and indeed some labor leaders, have pointed out that unions would rest on a firmer foundation if their membership were voluntary rather than compulsory. Compulsion forces unwilling adherents who, as members, are often apathetic and may be actually hostile.

For example, Justice Brandeis, a great friend of labor, said:

> "The ideal condition for the union is to be strong and stable and yet to have in the trade outside its own ranks an appreciable number of men who are non-unionists. . . . Such a nucleus of unorganized labor will check oppression by the unions as unions check oppression by the employer."

6. The union argument that employes want compulsory unionism

From August 1947 to October 1951, the Labor-Management Relations Act contained a provision[4] requiring that the majority of employes eligible to vote must approve by secret ballot the union demands for a union shop.

NLRB statistics showing that these votes almost always resulted in endorsement of the union shop are frequently cited as proof that employes want it. It cannot be overlooked that these elections were conducted during a time when union members were bombarded by union propaganda distorting the objectivity of the Taft-Hartley Act. The confusion of employes during this period has been forcefully illustrated by public opinion polls showing overwhelming favor for principles of freedom laid down in the Taft-Hartley provisions, on the one hand, but opposition to the identical principle when it was couched in terms making specific reference to the act.

Moreover, many of the elections conducted were in selected situations in which the union leaders were confident of a "yes" vote before they joined in their consent to the election. Furthermore, the elections were not an exclusive endorsement of the union shop but merely provided authorization for the use of it as a bargaining point.

In Febuary 1963, the Forum, a New York opinion surveying organization, reported that no less than 71 per cent of people, residing in states that have right-to-work laws, approved of these laws. Surprisingly, the percentage of those in favor was higher among grade school and high school graduates than among those with college educations. Indeed, 60 per cent of those replying, who were also union members, favored the right-to-work law.

7. The union argument that clergymen are opposed to right-to-work laws

This deception is perhaps the most dangerous of all, because people tend to regard the statements of clergymen as sacrosanct. An extra heavy burden of responsibility therefore rests on every minister, priest or rabbi who may, willfully or unwittingly, permit his high office to be used to propagate unsound doctrines.

It may be said with authority that for every clergyman who has allowed himself to be persuaded to attack right-to-work laws, an equal number, having studied the issue for themselves, conclude that a man has no moral obligation to join a union.

Compulsory unionism takes away a man's ability freely to decide a moral question and in some instances forces him to act in a manner contrary to the dictates of his conscience. Compulsory unionism is thus immoral because it violates the basic moral tenet of freedom of will; eminent clergymen of all creeds have said so.

There are other union arguments but these are the chief ones.

* * * *

In the final analysis, "right-to-work" laws:

- preserve a fundamental freedom to the individual.
- restrain the pernicious effect of monopoly power nourished by compulsion. This compulsion is first exerted on the employer, in requiring the execution of a union shop agreement. It is strengthened through compulsion upon the working man to join the union if he is to keep his job.

Arthur Krock, the respected political analyst of the New York *Times* and assuredly no "lackey" of industrial management, points out that:

> Organized labor has legal privileges and immunities denied to all other groups in national production. These are the potentials of an industrial monopoly and a political pressure mass that could dominate the American system.
>
> Through protective statutes, friendly judicial decisions and the favoritism of political administrators, organized labor has been granted special rights in the United States. And the Taft-Hartley Act has left uncurbed the two principal ones. The first is general immunity from the anti-trust laws for actions which would be illegal if performed by employers. The second, specifically, is freedom to bargain on a nation-wide basis and to strike, if desired, a nation-wide industry vital to the general welfare.[5]

In the face of the threat to a continuation of monopoly power, it is not surprising that the elimination of Taft-Hartley Section 14b (which permits the states to protect the employe's freedom of choice in the matter of union membership) becomes a point of such primary concern to the entrenched union leaders. This objective, if obtained, would invalidate the right-to-work laws of 20 states.

Our society, dedicated as it is to freedom and the sanctity of the individual, must decide whether unionism is to be voluntary or compulsory. The outcome of the struggle could conceivably determine both the socio-economic and the political future of our nation.

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(1) It is estimated that unions poured out $1.5 million in California alone to defeat the right-to-work proposal in 1958.

(2) UAW Local 248 (Allis-Chalmers), 149 NLRB No. 10 (1964), where fines up to $100 for working during a strike were upheld by the NLRB.

(3) UAW Local 283 (Wisconsin Motor Corp.), 145 NLRB No. 109 (1964) where fines up to $100 for exceeding union work quotas were upheld by the NLRB.

(4) Repealed in 1951.

(5) New York *Times*, April 28, 1959.

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Sen. Church Still Worried About the 'Radical Right'

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

As this is being written, Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) is telling his colleagues that the nation is threatened by the "radical right." Communists are killing Americans in Viet Nam and Fidel Castro is still fronting for the Soviet imperialists in Cuba. Latin America is torn by Red subversion. But the "radical right" is still Public Enemy No. 1 to Mr. Church and his friends.

The Senate can take the senator's harangue. It has heard much that is louder, funnier and wronger. In the long run, the common sense of the national legislature may prevail. But Sen. Church should be answered—or at least exposed—for the sentiments he expresses with such pious indignation.

In this space, it's difficult to take up the Church speech paragraph by paragraph—or thought by thought, if

Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) admits that the liberals are the Establishment that dominates this country.

you'd call it that. But one extended passage should not go unchallenged, and if you will bear with me, I intend to do a little dissection.

Mr. Church writes:

"Scholars differ on why so many conscientious Americans are being caught up in the 'radical right.' (The Harris Poll tells us this morning that the strength of the so-called "radical right" has been highly exaggerated.) It is, clearly, a revolt against the established order by the discontented, motivated by a mixture of reasons." Well, what is the Establishment? According to the pundits, the Establishment represents the rich and powerful right-wing against whom ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), the Administration, and all the good men and true must risk their lives and their fortunes.

Sen. Church now admits what the conservatives have always held—that it is the liberals who are the Establishment and who dominate this country. The same pundits have always argued that it is a major virtue to light out after the established order. Discontent has always been considered a positive virtue among the liberals, but only left-wing discontent. Mr. Church now joins the ranks against those who feel that all is not perfection in this welfarist paradise.

What are the reasons motivating the "radical right?" Says Mr. Church: "A quest for some higher purpose than is satisfied by the commercial standards of our times; a fear of the new relationships being generated by the burgeoning growth, urbanization and automation of the country. . ."

Parse that, then. The labor unions have fought most bitterly against automation and the liberals have been most vocal in expressing their fears of urbanization. The unions and the liberals, therefore, share the "radical right's" viewpoints on these matters, but no one belabors them for holding them. In fact, it is considered a virtue to oppose automation and urbanization—just so long as the opposition comes from the left. The crime is not in the act but in those who commit it.

Other reasons that have led to the existence of a vocal "radical right" are "a resistance to the complexities of modern life, to the bigness of government, to the racial revolution, to a 'cold war' that never ends, to the absence of quick and easy solutions," etc., etc. They send forth "many a rebel to go forth in search of a cause."

Every one of these heresies—or what Sen. Church seems to think are heretical feelings—are shared by Americans of the left, right and center. They are legitimate causes of concern, as almost any issue of the liberal weeklies will tell us. And being "rebels" against the conformity of the Establishment has always been considered praiseworthy—always, that is, until the causes found by the rebels ceased to be manufactured by the "radical left."

There is one other motivation, and this is what sets the "radical right" apart from its critics. That motivation is a fear of communism, both at home and abroad. Years of whittling away at America's hatred of communism have weakened the resolve of many to battle at every turn the insidious propaganda it utilizes. Yet a residue of anti-communism remains and it is to its total elimination that the war against the "radical right" is directed.

Sen. Church quotes the Socialist, Prof. Daniel Bell, to cast doubt on the validity of the support that "traditional community leaders" give to anti-communism. Mr. Bell, an old debater, undercut them by saying that they have become "conditioned" to an "indiscriminate" anti-communism. This is a neat trick. After all, no one likes to be considered undiscriminating.

But over the years, Prof. Bell's—and Sen. Church's—kind of anti-Communist has shown discrimination by denouncing the "ism" and attacking those who name names, give dates and cite places. The "radical right," when it is acting responsibly, does just that—so it is forever damned in the hearts of the anti-anti-Communists.

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"IF WE MAKE the 'Great Society' analogous to 'great and benign government,' it will not be a great society at all, but a drab repetition of past failures from which Americans once fought to escape."—Rep. Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.)

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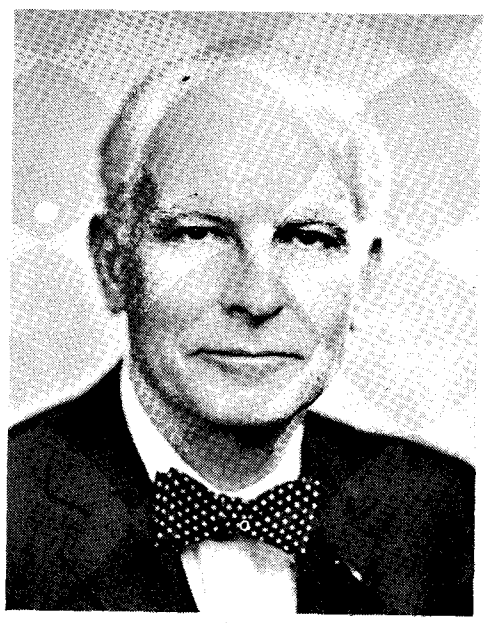


Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe (left) has sent word through Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) that the United States should not support the Organization of African Unity.

Expect Assassination Attempt 'At Any Time', Tshombe Warned

From the Allen-Scott Report

Premier Moise Tshombe, the Congo's pro-U. S. strong-man, is being warned to expect an assassination attempt "at any time."

U. S. intelligence authorities in Leopoldville have given his security officials evidence that a one-time German staff officer is training a hand-picked group of assassins in former French Congo for a commando-type raid on Tshombe's Bankside home across the Congo River.

The German, a Hitler army captain captured by the Russians and now employed as an "adviser" to Algeria's Marxist President Ben Bella, is in his fifties and known as Silmane Hoffman.

In a high-fenced training camp at Gamboma, Hoffman is covertly *instructing a mixed force of 600* rebels that include Communist mercenary "assassin specialists" from Russia, Algeria and Egypt.

According to one intelligence estimate, this assassin school is a project of Alexander Shelepin, young, vigorous former Soviet secret police chief who is a member of the 13-member Presidium, top policy-making body in the Soviet Union.

Shelepin is credited with organizing and financing the training camp under the Kremlin's unannounced policy of removing from public office by assassination Western officials who actively oppose Russian policies.

If Tshombe can escape assassination, the ebullient Congo leader still runs the grave and imminent risk of being undercut by the same officials—Secretary Rusk and Undersecretary Averell Harriman—whose policies led to the ouster and death of South Viet Nam's President Diem.

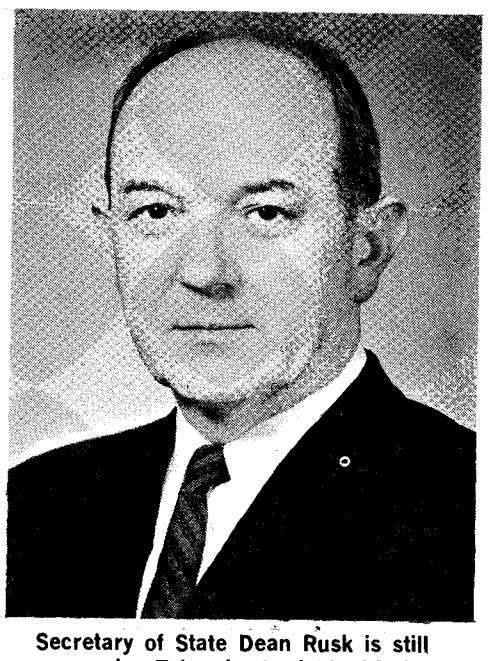
Although the United States is giving Tshombe "limited" military and economic aid, a State Department group headed by Rusk and Harriman has privately been pressuring Tshombe to deal with the Congolese rebels and widen his government to include them.

So far, Tshombe has balked at this, replying that if he followed the Rusk-Harriman recommendations, he would be contributing to his own assassination.

As a counter move, Tshombe has sent word to President Johnson through Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), a trusted friend, urging him to drop U. S. support of the Organization of African Unity, which is openly aiding the rebel group in the Congo.

According to Tshombe's message, three members of the OAU—Kenya's President Jomo Kenyatta, Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere and Uganda's Prime Minister Milton Obote—are helping rebel "President" Christophe Gbenye plan a new military offensive against Congo government forces.

President Johnson, who must decide soon whether to step up aid to Tshombe



Secretary of State Dean Rusk is still pressuring Tshombe to deal with the Congolese rebels.

or see the situation deteriorate, turned over Tshombe's message and Dodd's accompanying letter to McGeorge Bundy, chief White House foreign policy adviser. In turn, Bundy sent the pleas to Secretary Rusk, where they have been shelved.

It now appears that only direct action by President Johnson or new pressure by Tshombe's friends in Congress can save the Congo leader from the same fate as the late President Diem.

If Tshombe fails, U. S. military intelligence experts foresee a far worse mess confronting the U. S. in the Congo than in South Viet Nam.

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IT FIGURES—The Constitution of the United States prescribes the presidential oath in words as plain as the nose on Lyndon's face. The pledge is faithfully to execute "the office of President of the United States." That wasn't the way it came out. In the revised version of the Chief Justice of the United States, an old hand at tinkering with the Constitution, it came out "the office of the presidency of the United States." With Mr. Warren in charge, it figures.

—From the Richmond *News Leader*

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IT'S TRUE that a dollar doesn't go as far as it once did. But what it lacks in distance, it sure makes up for in speed.

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Moscow Followers Open Drive To Recapture 'Mao-ist' Youths

By VICTOR RIESEL

Revolutionary youth cadres, bearded like their heroes, Lenin and Trotsky, have been spotted on the fringes of recent mass strikes in New York City. They were driven off. Their literature was dumped and destroyed. Warnings were dispatched via the grapevine—they'd be mauled if they showed again.

They did not show. They had put in their time on the "action front." Their assignment had been to attempt to stir the picket lines. Their leaflets had urged the rejection of settlements and the prolongation of the strikes. Though on the waterfront they had run from huskier men, they had proven their willingness to attempt to "infiltrate." They scurried because they were new at this "action program." They had taken "party discipline." They had proven they were good "Mao-ists"—followers of little parties which are the vogue among the "in" group of the beatnik youth now dubbed by one national labor chief as the "sickniks."

But the young hero worshippers, who see Mao Tse-tung as the dialectical successor to Lenin and Trotsky, are disturbing others besides the authorities and the labor leaders. The Mao-ists, sneering at the old Communist party chiefs as capitalist deviationists, are alarming the officials of the U.S. section of the Moscow controlled international.

Communist party leader Gus Hall will be in the forefront of the party's drive to rebuild itself.

Without new youthful recruits the American Communist party will wither away. The average age of its 10,000 members is upwards of 55 years. Many of its leaders have died in the past year. Its hitherto secret regional units have been warning the Communists' national office on West 23rd Street that there must be new blood—and soon.

So word has come from Moscow for the Communist Party U.S.A. to revitalize itself. It has been told that the activity on the university fronts is just not enough. The party must now come into the open. It must rebuild itself around a network of clubs.

The theme of the revival must be anti-war. It must use the clubs as a base for an ever increasing number of demonstrations urging the withdrawal from Viet Nam and all military bases around the world.

Action of the clubs must be put on a "concentration" basis. They must be coordinated by the Communists' national office. They must do the same thing, urge the same action, run the same type of demonstrations on the streets at about the same time.

The national office must be beefed up, said the dictum. And the new national office organizers must not stay in New York. They are to go out and service their old clubs, revive tottering ones and build new units.

The concentration centers, according to what has been learned of discussions at regional meetings of the party's high command, must be in the Midwest. There must be special "saturation" of the "industrial" belt. This means western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan.

In the industrial section the emphasis must be on "working class youth." Once these are found, organized and trained, some of them must be peeled off and sent south for infiltration there.

During recent conferences the party officials have been promised ample funds for the youth drive. To avoid appearances of control and financing from Moscow, the party as a ruse has been ordered to launch a fund-raising campaign for the fight against the United States on the judicial front.

The Communist party goes on trial in Washington on March 15 on charges of failing to register as an action group under the 1950 Internal Security Act.

The Communist international will make this a global *cause celebre.* Committees and parties on all continents have been ordered to pass resolutions protesting the trial as a revival of "McCarthyism."

At the right moment the American Communist party will launch a campaign for some $50,000. The money will pour in. It always does, mostly in cash. Then the money can be used for any purposes the party chooses, including the new youth recruitment and club revival and delegations to Congress and vigils at the White House.

The party hopes its new flamboyancy will offer sufficiently exciting competition to the Mao-ist youth to pull the young people into the party.

There also is no doubt that the streets of the nation's big cities will be the stages for this turbulent drama.

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What Has Happened to Profits?

A report prepared by the Meadow Brook National Bank, West Hempstead, N. Y.

The most significant, yet probably most misunderstood element of our capitalistic system is the factor called "profit." Because of its importance to the nation's growth, its dimensions, directions and functions should be better understood by all Americans. This understanding is especially important today because, contrary to the impressions of many people, real corporate profits have been declining steadily, endangering our country's continued growth.

• • •

Profits have provided both the incentive and the financing necessary to create and maintain the torrent of new products and new jobs that have raised our standard of living to the highest in the world —more than 5 million new jobs since the 1960s began.

Last year alone profits accounted for a substantial percentage of all the funds invested by corporations in new or expanded plant and equipment. Moreover, corporations use profits as a base to support the outside borrowings which account for the remaining percentage of growth financing. This debt, based on profits, adds to the corporations' ability to continue growing.

Corporate profits today account for one of the main sources of revenue used by federal and state governments in providing services to their citizens. Last year, profitable corporations paid nearly $26 billion in direct income taxes, and the taxes paid by their employes and stockholders added to this total.

Corporate profits also promote efficiency, by allowing businesses to invest in modern plants and equipment. Increased efficiency means lower operating costs and prices, higher quality products, higher wages and continued and beneficial expansion.

A squeeze on corporate profits holds back the growth of individual companies, restricts the modernization of plant and equipment, and discourages investors from providing new capital, the life blood of growth. It saps the strength, vigor and buoyancy of our entire economy.

The maintenance of a business climate that encourages adequate corporate profits is thus of the utmost importance to the continued growth of this nation.

But what's happened to profits?

On the surface, it appears that American corporations earned more money in 1964 than in any year on record. When all the reports are in, total corporate profits are expected to total somewhere near $57.5 billion before taxes.

But these figures can be misleading. While the numbers have been going up, real corporate profits have been going down for years in four important areas: (1) as a percentage of Gross National Product, (2) as a percentage of national income, (3) as a percentage of invested capital, and (4) as a percentage of sales. And while pre-tax profits have increased 5.7 times in the past 35 years, this gain has been reduced substantially by corporate taxes which increased 18.4 times in that period.

In both 1929 and 1964, American corporations, through their output of goods and services, accounted for far more than half of the country's Gross National Product, and produced more than half of the national income. But in 1929 corporate profits were 8.4 per cent of GNP and almost 10 per cent of national income, while in 1964 corporate profits had dwindled to about 5 per cent of GNP and to around 6 per cent of national income—despite the corporate tax reduction in 1964.

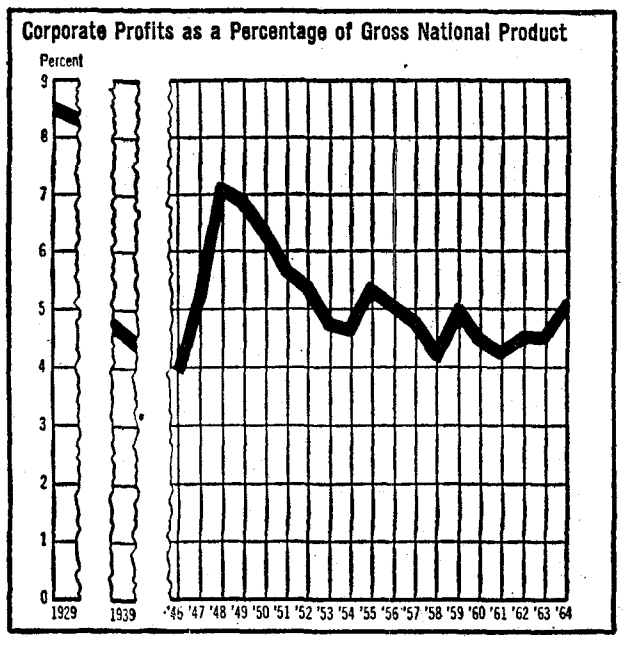
A similar long-term downtrend is evident for corporate profits as a percentage of invested capital, or net worth, especially when taking into account the inflation of the past two decades. Capital invested years ago for the purchase of plant and production equipment bought much more than would the same amount invested today.

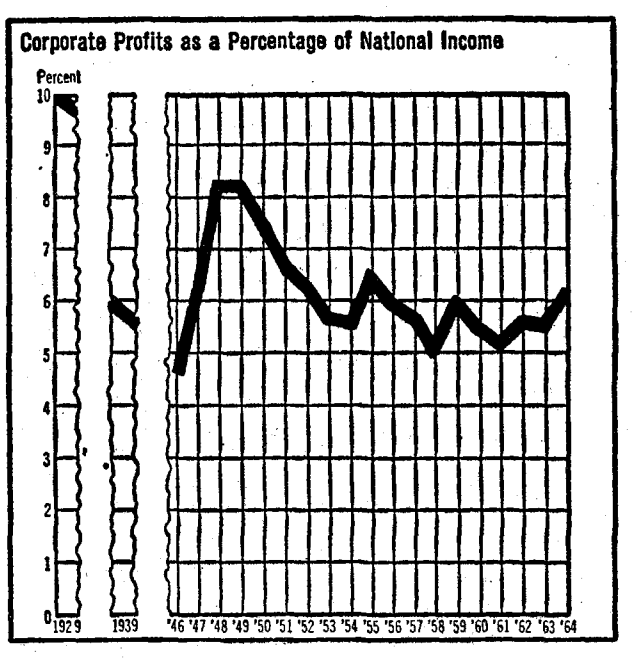
And when it comes to profits as a percentage of sales, we find that American corporations on the whole now net less than 3 cents of profit from every dollar of sales—half as much as they did in 1929.

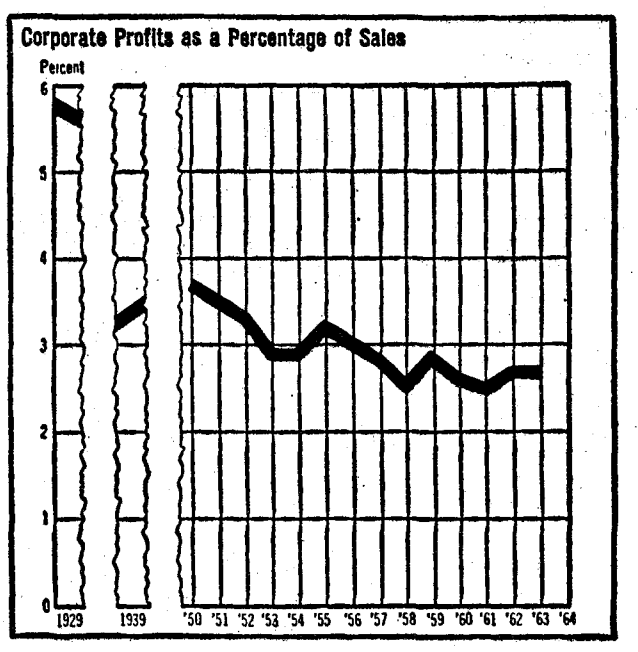
While many Americans find this hard to believe, the evidence is overwhelming: Real corporate profits have been declining for years.

This trend is dangerous because, year after year, less and less profit in relative terms is being made available to corporations to use for growth and expansion purposes, and because it also impairs their ability to raise additional growth capital from private and institutional sources.

The situation imperils not only American corporations but America itself. Viewed against our national objective of economic growth, there is plenty of work for the profit mechanism to perform—and ample reason to believe that the response to greater profit incentives would again produce more rapid economic expansion and more widespread employment during the years ahead.







Johnson Phones George Meany And Embraces Labor's Program

By VICTOR RIESEL

Thousands of labor leaders flocked into Washington during the weekend before the inauguration. Hundreds of them were given places of honor. They were invited to the most intimate gatherings.

Some were asked to attend church with the Lyndon Johnsons. They stayed in town for the duration—for this was their week as well as the President's.

Never have they been closer to a chief executive, not even to the late John Kennedy. Few recall that militant strike leaders were shutting down Eastern railroads right at the height of Mr. Kennedy's inauguration ceremonies while blizzards crippled other transportation.

Even after Mr. Johnson's enormous election victory—or perhaps because of it—the President has gone out of his way to tighten the bonds that tie him and the labor movement so closely.

Characteristic is a phone call which he made the other day and which has gone unreported despite its national significance.

The man he telephoned was George Meany, America's Mr. Labor, president of the 13 million-member AFL-CIO. They spoke early on the morning of Tuesday, January 12. Mr. Meany had been on the 8:00 section of the "Today" show.

During the televised interview the labor chief said that never in all the years he has been in Washington—and that means exactly 25 years—and never in anything he had read on the history of trade unionism had an administration's legislative program and the program of organized labor matched so completely.

Mr. Meany added that the goals of labor and those of Mr. Johnson's Administration were "virtually indentical." And labor would go right down the line for the laws it was proposing.

These were strong words. Some in the studio wondered what the White House reaction would be. They did not have to wonder long. The moment Mr. Meany was off the air, the phone rang in that studio. A page told Mr. Meany it was the President of the United States.

In effect, Mr. Johnson said, George, thanks, you did a very fine job on the air and I appreciate the support you've given my program.

The President was obviously pleased with the comparison of national legislative proposals. Mr. Meany's accuracy could not have been substantiated by a higher source.

There is significance, too, in the timing of the conversation. The call came the day after some 800 national and regional labor chiefs had had a legislative lobbying council in the Mayflower Hotel. These men envision much, but they are not visionaries. They are as practical as snowshovels in January. They know what they want.

It is now important for the public to know what labor wants, since the President has obviously pledged to fight for such a program.

Most important, it appears, is the average leader's eagerness to go beyond the "guide lines" of the old presidential Council of Economic Advisers. These "guide lines" were set to head off big increases in wages which in turn would force prices up—and vice versa.

The lines originally held that 3.2 per cent increases in wages each year would be just about right to head off inflation. But the auto union broke the line. So did the longshoremen. So did many other unions. Embattled steel union chiefs already have served warning that the lines will be cut.

There has been no tough crackdown and none appears likely. Word from the highest circles inside the White House is that the President believes he will have to be flexible. These sources say that deciding what is inflationary is "like trying to count the hairs in a beard." So it will be with prices.

There is much else on labor's priority list. The ubiquitous Taft-Hartley clause 14b is in the way of new unionizing drives, and labor wants it repealed so workers will have to join unions in every part of the United States once a contract is signed.

There is the demand for immediate study of the shorter work week as a prelude to official reduction from 40 to 35 hours. There is the request for a $2-an-hour ($80-a-week) minimum wage —and extension of its coverage to another five million workers in the hotel, restaurant, laundry, gas station and retail fields. There is the urging for double time, instead of time and a half for overtime.

It is a vast program for which Mr. Johnson has promised labor he will fight.

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Goldwater Quote Distorted

'Big Lie' Still Used Against Conservatives

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S. D.)

In its Feb. 1, 1965, issue, Newsweek *magazine quotes Sen. Barry Goldwater as saying in a recent Chicago speech: "What it boils down to is that I wasn't dishonest enough to win this campaign." Immediately after this* Newsweek *statement appeared, Rep. David King (D.-Utah) went onto the House floor to attack Goldwater, calling the former senator's position "the argument used by Adolf Hitler." House Democratic Leader Carl Albert of Oklahoma also castigated the Goldwater "quotation."*

Unfortunately for these men the statement had been wrenched brutally out of context. In a speech on the House floor, excerpted below, Rep. E.Y. Berry (R.-S.D.) explained what happened:

The House is indebted to [Rep.] David King (D.-Utah) for bringing to the attention of the House another of the "big lies" that the left-wing radical press is still in the process of telling about Sen. Barry Goldwater.

Rep. David King (D.-Utah) publicized the Goldwater "quotation," calling it "The argument used by Adolf Hitler."

Let me point out that a deliberate misquote is worse than a deliberate lie. For several years and particularly throughout the past year this left-wing radical press has heaped upon the head of Barry Goldwater a crown of thorns woven from deliberate lies, deliberate misquotes, deliberate misstatements of his position and the deliberate taking of quotes out of context.

In reporting the speech of Sen. Goldwater at the Chicago meeting of the Republican National Committee on January 22, the Washington *Post* carried in quotations their version of the statement Mr. Goldwater made and it was exactly as the gentlemen from Utah read on the House floor. In otherwords, the *Post* quoted him as saying:

"I wasn't dishonest enough in the last campaign to win. In order to win campaigns one must be dishonest, or a little dishonest."

In their report of the meeting of the national committee *Newsweek* magazine, which is associated with the Washington Post Co. and is almost as far to the left as the *Post* could not, apparently, go quite as far in misquoting the senator as did the *Post*. They said this:

"What it boils down to is that I wasn't dishonest enough to win this campaign."

The *Newsweek* article could not even stomach the whole lie and the so-called quote even had been tamed down a little from the *Post* article.

Now, what did Mr. Goldwater say in his speech in Chicago? I have the paragraph taken from the transcript of his speech:

"Of course, this always happens after a campaign. People begin to write books about the campaign and I have had a real interesting and amusing time reading them. In fact, what they boil down to mostly is that I wasn't dishonest enough in this last campaign to win. [Applause.] It is a little distracting to find writers feeling that in order to win an election one must be dishonest or, at least, a little dishonest. In fact, it has gotten so bad I may write a book myself about this campaign just to get the truth across. If I were going to do that I would include in it something like this."

In this article, Rep. E. Y. Berry (above) shows how Newsweek and the Washington Post took a quote from Barry Goldwater out of context.

It is not difficult to see what the warped and wicked mind of a writer can contrive. What Mr. Goldwater was saying was that the people who have been writing these books about the election have been saying that he was not dishonest enough in this last campaign to win. And they by simply leaving out the words "it is a little distracting to find writers feeling that," the reporter was able to put the forked tail and horns they pictured Goldwater as having during the campaign back on the senator in Chicago by having him—not the writers of books on the election, but Goldwater himself—say "in order to win campaigns one must be dishonest or a little dishonest."

Of course, those who would continue to shoot their poisoned arrows through the former senator, in hopes of poisoning the minds of all Americans against anyone who may be inclined to be conservative can easily skip the important words that Goldwater used, when he said, "it is a little distracting" and so forth. This gives an entirely different impression of the speaker from the one the reporters would like to present.

As *Newsweek* said in reporting this speech in their Feb. 1, 1965, issue on page 21:

"But Barry wasn't about to eat humble pie for long. Defiantly, he unleashed a verbal attack on the President as bitter as any he made last year. 'What it boils down to,' he said, 'is that I wasn't dishonest enough to win this campaign.' "

Does this statement depict the truth of Goldwater's speech?

Is it any wonder that a very prominent Republican who was on the floor and heard the gentleman from Utah (Mr. King) and the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. Albert) made the statement to me "If Goldwater said that, I am done with him too."

I simply want to express my appreciation to the gentleman from Utah for calling the "big lie," this character assassination, to the attention of the members of the House, in order that the truth may be properly ventilated.

Religion Goes on in the Soviet Union

From the Arizona *Republic*

A recent AP dispatch from Moscow was succinct:

"They flocked to church in atheist Russia last night, the old and the young, the poor and the tired, the lame and the blind, to light candles and pray on the Russian Orthodox Christmas Eve.

"Throughout the Soviet Union tens of thousands if not millions of persons observed Christmas services which fall on January 7 under the old Russian calendar."

On the very day that item appeared, we received from the Senate Internal Security subcommittee a special study prepared by the law library of the Library of Congress, titled, "The Church and State Under Communism."

The study explains that although the Soviet constitution theoretically guarantees freedom of religion, this is nullified in practice by a whole series of concrete countermeasures . . . including the wholesale confiscation of church property, the all-pervasive state supervision of residual religious activities, the imprisonment of recalcitrant clergymen.

In Russia, religion is supervised by a Permanent Committee for Religious Matters of the Council of Ministers. In every other Communist state, the regimes have established parallel committees to exercise surveillance over all religious activities.

Soviet law prohibits any attempts to convert the Russian people to religion. Such attempts are considered violations of the laws on freedom of conscience and are prosecuted in accordance with criminal and civil laws. Yet anti-religious propaganda is not only permitted but its production is one of the prime duties of party members and government agencies.

"That religion has survived for so many years of harassment and persecution in the Soviet Union and in other Communist countries is a testimony to the power of faith," wrote Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) in an introduction to the study. "Some religions have been persecuted more viciously than others. But there can be no doubt that the Communists seek nothing less than the total liquidation of all vestiges of religion . . ."

In view of this anti-religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain, religious men everywhere can only wonder at the faith and courage of those unknown thousands, perhaps millions, who took such great risks by attending religious services on the Russian Orthodox Christmas Eve.

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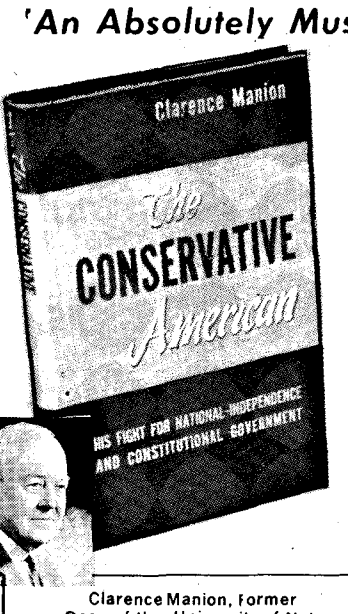

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2. ". . .You hit the nail on the head again and again in simple, down-to-earth and understandable words. My heartiest and deeply felt congratulations."—Charles Edison, former Governor of New Jersey.

3. "The book, in approach, in language and in content, is outstanding as the best exposition of the Federal Constitution that has been published in many years. It is a 'must' for every American."—Frank E. Holman, former President, American Bar Association.

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CONTENTS

Cuban Missile Build-up Continues
By Henry J. Taylor ..... Cover

Anyone Feel Inspired?
From the Richmond News Leader 2

Red View of Man
By Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer 2

The Extreme Middle of the Road
By Morrie Ryskind 2

Minimum Wage For Youth Corps
From the Rockford (Ill.) Register-Republic 2

Churchill Broke All the Rules
By John Chamberlain 3

Lodge Being Pushed as McCone Successor
By Victor Lasky 3

Unions Want to Socialize Railroads
From the Chattanooga News-Free Press 3

No Security in Disarmament
From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat 6

Is LBJ's 'Great Society' Unconstitutional?
By James J. Kilpatrick 6

Red Arms Challenge U.S. Viet Policy; Will Jenkins Be Called to Testify?
From the Allen-Scott Report 7

A Way to Cut the Federal Budget
From the Chicago Tribune 7

Why Section 14b Should Be Retained 8

Sen. Church Still Worried About the 'Radical Right'
By Ralph De Toledano 10

Expect Assassination Attempt 'At Any Time', Tshombe Warned
From the Allen-Scott Report 10

Moscow Followers Open Drive To Recapture 'Mao-ist' Youths
By Victor Riesel 11

Our Source of Greatness
From the Indianapolis News 14

Feuding Breaks Out Among Top New York Democrats
By Fulton Lewis Jr. 14

The Little War of the Big Lie
By Barry Goldwater 15

There's No Such Animal as a 'Tax Cut'
From the Omaha Evening World-Herald 15

LBJ Urges Liberalized Immigration
By Jenkin Lloyd Jones 16

Our Source of Greatness

From the Indianapolis *Star*

President Johnson, in his State of the Union address, acknowledged that a "Great Society" would not "flower spontaneously from swelling riches and surging power. It will not be the gift of the government or the creation of Presidents."

And he was right.

The GI who fought in muddy European battlefields and sweltering South Pacific jungles and coral islands knows that "the States" is already a "great society."

The American who has seen the squalor of Asia, the police states of Europe and the barbarism of Africa knows it.

Americans inhabit a land that offers not only abundance and luxury beyond the dreams of kings and emperors of the past. It offers freedom.

And they know that Presidents and government did not create the skyscrapers, jets, homes, farms, cars, industries, missiles, space vehicles, nuclear submarines, nuclear weapons, music, drama, sports, literature, schools, universities, medicine and scientific achievements that are measures of our power and abundance.

Nor did they create our free institutions or our love of liberty.

The well-spring of our greatness and our abudance lies in another source—individual initiative.

This has been the force that drives our pioneers, the force that moved a Columbus to find a New World, a Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton to help form its institutions.

It was the force that drove a Daniel Boone, Francis Parkman, Davy Crockett, Rogers and Clark into the depths of an unknown land.

It stirred the spirit of Andrew Jackson, made young Abe Lincoln study by firelight, pushed an Alexander Graham Bell to experiments that make the telephone, inspired Thomas Alva Edison's ingenious spirit in barnlofts and sheds to invent the incandescent electric lamp, phonograph, multiplex telegraph, motion picture and dynamo.

It explains why a Mark Twain wrote *Huckleberry Finn* or a Washington Irving wrote *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*.

It explains why sleepy towns in the plains states and the South produce generals who can win World Wars and writers who can win the Nobel Prize.

This is the well-spring of American greatness. The job of government and Presidents is not to try to create it—but to protect it.

Feuding Breaks Out Among Top New York Democrats

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

New York Republicans are jubilant as feuding Democrats proceed along a political path that can lead only to GOP victory.

November represented a cataclysmic defeat for the Republican party. New York voters gave Lyndon Johnson a margin of two million plus, retired Republican Sen. Kenneth Keating and seven GOP congressmen, and swept victorious Democrats into state legislative control for the first time in more than three decades.

The Democratic future looked shiny bright: The state legislature would be redistricted in such a way as to insure Democratic control for years to come.

New York Mayor Robert Wagner has accused Democratic State Chairman William McKeon (above) of attempting to bribe several state legislators.

Nelson Rockefeller appeared to have no chance for re-election in 1966.

But Democrats are now fighting among themselves so viciously that a Republican comeback is all but certain. The GOP is expected to make real gains in special legislative elections scheduled for November and Rockefeller is given an outside chance for re-election next year.

The New York Democrats have squabbled for many years, but the senatorial victory of Robert Kennedy has divided the party as never before. Kennedy's nomination was engineered by enemies of New York Mayor Robert Wagner, the old-line "bosses" who now seek to control the state Democratic organization.

Shortly after the November elections, the anti-Wagner Democrats mapped plans to capture the legislative leadership. In this faction were Bronx boss Charles Buckley, Brooklyn's Stanley Steingut, Long Island's John English, Albany's Dan O'Connell and Erie County's Peter Crotty.

When the Wagner foes won commitments from a majority of Democratic senators and assemblymen, victory was apparently theirs. But Wagner dug in for a last-ditch fight.

Marshaling his forces, the mayor withheld the votes necessary to elect majority leaders of the state legislature. Then Wagner dropped a bombshell, charging that Democratic State Chairman William H. McKeon had attempted to bribe two members of the state legislature into joining the anti-Wagner camp.

McKeon denied the charge, but Wagner came back within 24 hours to offer "proof." Again McKeon denied the allegation, but damage to the Democratic "image" has been great.

The mayor emerges as something less than a knight on a white charger: He put McKeon into office in 1962.

Efforts to patch up the Democratic feud seem doomed to failure. It will not end until one man, Kennedy or Wagner, rules the state Democratic party. Wagner quite obviously is in the fight to the very end. And so are the powerful leaders backing Bobby Kennedy.

President Johnson would like to see the battle end with Wagner as the party's chieftain. But he cannot mediate the dispute without running the risk of burning his political fingers.

Note: Intra-party battle or no intra-party battle, Wagner seems a sure bet for re-election later this year. The bosses may seek his primary defeat, but they are no more likely to be successful than they were in 1961. There have been reports that ultra-liberal "reformers" might oppose Wagner with a primary candidate of their own, and Rep. William Fitts Ryan has been mentioned as a possible nominee. But Wagner would have little difficulty with Ryan or any other reformer. He himself was backed by the Reform Democrats against Tammany in 1961.

Republicans appear to have little chance for taking the mayoralty. Both Jacob Javits, the vote-winning senior senator, and John Lindsay, the bright-eyed young congressman, have been asked to make the race, but neither has indicated much interest.

Lindsay is reported to have named the two conditions on which he would run, and Republican leaders are unlikely to assure him of either—a political warchest of $1.5 million and a veto over the city-wide GOP ticket.

If Lindsay does not run, Republicans may turn to Richard S. Aldrich, a member of the New York City council, for their mayoralty candidate. Aldrich, a millionaire cousin of Nelson Rockefeller, suffers from his family ties. Rep. Paul Fino, GOP leader in the Bronx, says he has no objections to Aldrich as a candidate, then adds:

"Let's make one thing clear. Rocky is not going to pick the candidate."

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South Viet Nam

The Little War of the Big Lie

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Viet Nam could be called the little war of the big lie.

The biggest lie of all is the pretense that it isn't a war, that our troops in Southeast Asia are just "advisors." Those "advisors" have suffered 1,931 casualties, including 356 deaths, in the last four years.

They have won such combat decorations as a Congressional Medal of Honor, three Distinguished Service Crosses, six Air Force Crosses, one Navy Cross, 25 Silver Stars, nearly 1,000 Purple Hearts and more than 1,000 Bronze Stars. This isn't a war?

Now comes the news that U. S. airmen for months have been bombing the supply lines that come into Viet Nam from Laos, the supposedly "neutral" nation which we once divided up with the Communists in a disastrous move, described as "brilliant" at the time.

During the presidential campaign anyone who suggested tampering with Communist supply lines outside Viet Nam automatically was labeled as an irresponsible extremist. But our planes were actually bombing the lines while the political smears were being bandied about.

And then there was the big lie about the "peaceful" Buddhists in Viet Nam. Opposing their wishes was made to look like something akin to denying freedom of religion. The few stories that did filter back about their purely political activities were pooh-poohed by the State Department.

The big lie then was that it was the Diem regime that was dangerous, not the Buddhists. When the Buddhists followed the Communist line and began attacking Diem's U.S.-backed replacement, the whole sorry fiction was revealed.

There is also the big lie about the danger of the war escalating if America stepped up her efforts or made it clear that our goal is victory and not some negotiated neutralization that would leave the area to Communist aggression of another sort.

This lie has been tested time after time. The Gulf of Tonkin raid was one test. The war didn't escalate. The Laos bombings are another test. The war hasn't escalated.

The revelation regarding the supply-line bombings is just the latest sorry proof of how the American people are being denied the truth about Viet Nam and our activities in that far-off region. It certainly cannot be argued that we were kept in the dark because we wanted to keep the bombings secret from the enemy—they knew about the first bomb the moment it dropped, some seven months ago. Only the American people had to wait until the loss of two of our planes forced the truth into the open.

This latest incident, however, could be just the tool needed to bring out all the facts. Congress now has every right and responsibility to demand a full accounting of just how and why we are spending our blood, tears and treasure in Viet Nam.

And the American people now have one more guideline for evaluating all of the rumors which say the Administration plans eventually to withdraw "gracefully" from Viet Nam.

One reason often given in justification for such a withdrawal is that we cannot bring to bear the modern weapons needed to win a military victory—for fear of Red Chinese retaliation. Therefore, the reasoning goes, we must settle for what we can get at the conference table.

But the fact that we have been using supersonic aircraft in Viet Nam, without Red China doing any more than she has been doing right along, shoots the argument down.

If we pull out of Viet Nam, leaving all of Southeast Asia open to Communist agression, it will be a failure of will—not a failure of arms.

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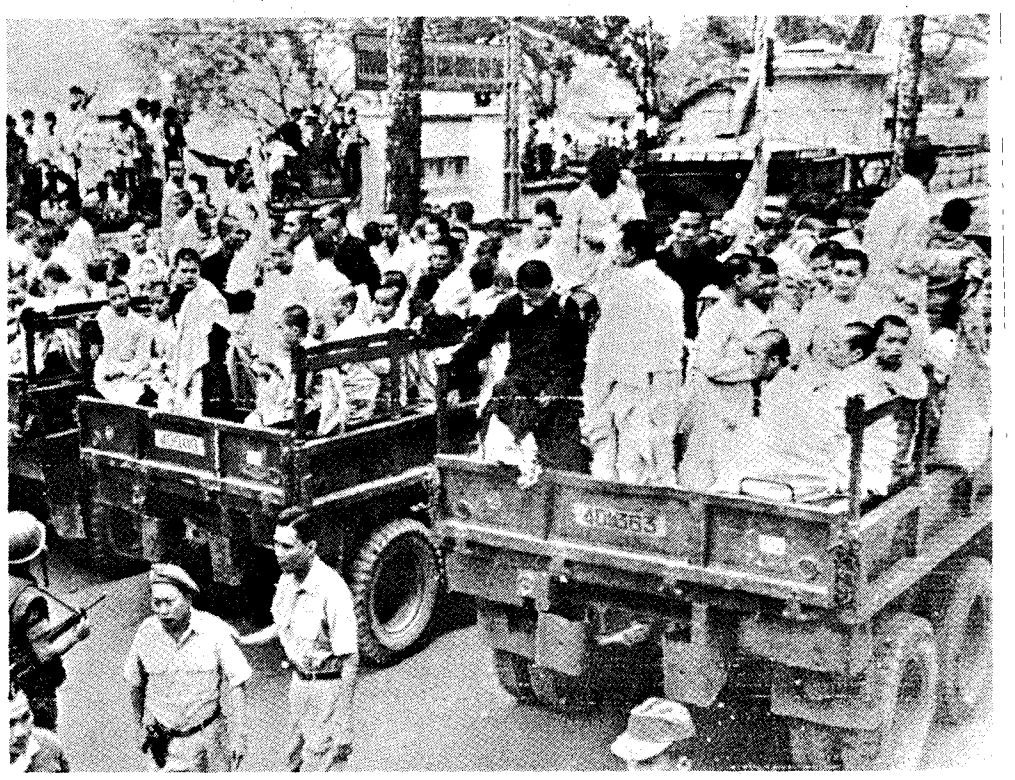

Cheering Buddhist monks, nuns and their followers fill three trucks after they were arrested in an anti-government demonstration in Gia Dinh, a suburb of Saigon.

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There's No Such Animal as a 'Tax Cut'

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

President Johnson, his economic soothsayers and assorted experts the nation around love to talk these days about last year's "tax cut" and the prospect for another of same next year.

Tax cut?

Brother, we have news for you. There is no such animal.

If one form of tax goes down, microscopically, other forms go up astronomically, and they all come from you-know-who.

Last year, the standard federal income tax was reduced by a small amount. But the Social Security payroll tax was increased; another increase in it is scheduled next year, and now there is talk of still a third payroll tax to finance Medicare.

And what about state taxes?

The Tax Foundation estimates that state expenditures are going up at the rate of $3 *billion* a year. Spending for other local governments probably will go up even more than that.

The Tax Foundation suggests that all this spending will require fresh sources of revenue.

Sources of revenues? As of 1960, there were 179 million of us in the United States. Since that time, the number of sources of revenue has increased somewhat, but not particularly because of the efforts of lawmakers.

When the bureaucracy speaks of "tax cuts," "fresh sources of revenue," "broadened tax base" and the like, we hope the birds are listening because such talk is strictly for them.

True, there are loopholes in almost all revenue laws, and these should be closed.

But that is a relatively small problem in terms of the total of taxation.

For the most part, the pleasant rhetoric used by politicians when they talk about such matters is intended to conceal the fact that they want more money from the people but do not want to take the responsibility for raising taxes.

In Nebraska, they do not want to raise the real estate tax.

In neighboring states, they say they do not want to raise the sales tax, or the state income tax. Everywhere they want to enact new taxes that they contend will be less painful to the payees than are the present taxes.

This is, of course, a futile hope. When they take it out of your hide, you feel it. But by the time the pain of a new tax becomes apparent, you may have forgotten who did it to you. At least that is the expectation of some politicians.

This endless process of increasing taxes is a part of the socialization of America.

Various governments are taking more of your money because they feel that they can spend it to better advantage, for your benefit, than you could.

Perhaps they are right. Perhaps the kind of paternal socialism that we Americans have, that our British cousins have, that Australia, New Zealand and Sweden have, is the wave of the future. We certainly would not undertake in this brief space to argue against what appears to be a massive historical trend.

We simply wish to enter a mild protest against the hypocrisy of those who pretend they are doing one thing while in actuality they are doing the opposite.

If people of Omaha, Nebraska, Iowa or the United States actually want their governments to do a lot more for them, they certainly should get all the boons they desire, and the cost thereof should be added openly and candidly to their tax bills.

But let's dispense with the soothing syrup. Let's quit kidding ourselves that somebody else will pay the bill. Let's level with the taxpayers, and let them know what every year's round of "benefits" is costing them, in terms of taxes that they can evaluate and can compare with last year's bill.

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EDUCATION AID—"The plans for federal aid to education put Washington in tight control of American education at every level and will add over a billion dollars to the tax rolls the first year with demands for untold billions in the years to come. The South greatly needs help in improving our educational facilities, but the question to be answered is at what price and how will the money be spent? For instance, New York is one of the richest states in the Union, and yet it will receive $92 million from the federal government for aid to education. The personal income of the citizens of New York state is over $55 billion. The state spends more than $2.5 billion a year for education. So it is not clear why it could not spend an additional $92 million, including the $50 million for New York City, which pays the largest amount of taxes of any city in the state. Can we afford the price of government control; is it worth the monetary gain?"—Rep. James Martin (R.-Ala.)

□ □ □

IT WASN'T IN the President's State of the Union message, nor in his many messages to the Congress, but the Administration has another record on its hands: the Labor Department announced January 5 the nation had its most troubled year in labor-management relations in five years during 1964. There were 15 major strikes, and many comparatively smaller ones, costing the nation 23 million man-days of lost production time. Some 1.6 million workers went on strike in 1964.

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Whose Country Is It?

LBJ Urges Liberalized Immigration

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

President Lyndon Johnson has called for a massive liberalization of our immigration laws and an end to the quota systems which have favored persons born in Western Europe over persons born elsewhere.

"The procedures we have followed," said the President, "imply that men and women from some countries are, just because of where they come from, more desirable citizens than others. Relationships with a number of countries, and hence the success of our foreign policy, is needlessly impeded by this proposition."

Now, at the risk of losing my Boy Scout merit badge for cosmic tolerance, I might suggest that if the majority of Americans had sprung, not from western Europe, but from central Africa or southern Asia, we would have a vastly different country. There are, in all parts of the world, fine human beings, but peoples differ widely in their social habits, their levels of ambition, their mechanical aptitudes, their moral traditions and their capacities for maintaining stable, popular governments.

Why should the United States be the only advanced nation in the world to develop a guilt complex over selective immigration? Every other country that is attractive to immigrants selects baldly and without apology.

Trinidad is in the British Commonwealth. Yet under a new British law, immigration from Trinidad is closely

The late Rep. Francis Walter (D.-Pa.) was a co-author of the McCarran-Walter Act, the law currently governing immigration.

restricted. But President Johnson's proposed bill would make Trinidad quota-free.

The President has decried our present stringent quotas for Asiatic immigrants. Australia has no quota at all. It simply excludes anyone of non-European ancestry. And the Japanese government discourages immigration from any country. A spokesman for the Japanese embassy in Washington this month stated simply that the Japanese are of one race and proud of it.

Although any person may apply for immigration to Israel, that government frankly seeks only an "ingathering of the Jews." Last year a Jew who had become a Catholic was denied citizenship by an Israeli court.

Each year, for 175 years, the United States has received more immigrants than any other nation in the world.

President Johnson, in his immigration message, says that the current American immigration quota is 158,361 annually, and that there are already substantially more immigrants than the quota figures indicate. There are no quotas for Latin America, nor for spouses and children of American citizens. In addition, Congress keeps passing special bills to admit immigrants. According to the Population Reference Bureau the net immigration to the United States during the 10 years of the 1950s was 2.7 million.

President Johnson claims that his proposed bill would make it easier for people of "special skills" to come and help the American economy. Yet it would immediately double the quotas for such countries as Tanzania, Malawi, Yemen and Nepal, in which persons with "special skills" needed in America might be hard to find.

Unlike the immigration restrictions of almost every advanced country, the President's bill would admit persons suffering from feeblemindedness, insanity and psychopathic personality, if their families promised to take care of them. The requirement that immigrants would have to have the promise of a job would be taken out.

Now, if the President's bill were passed, who would come? You can get some indication by the current backlog of unsatisfied visa applications. In Greece there are 350 current applications for every place under the present annual quotas. In India there are 115 such applications; in Israel, 150; in Portugal, 125; in Jamaica, 115; and in the United Arab Republic, 90. Is the President really going to try to satisfy these anxious-to-leave-home people in the interest of the "success of our foreign policy"?

Why haven't other advanced nations felt it in the interest of their own foreign policies to let down their immigration bars?

The plain fact is that nothing America could do without utterly destroying herself could measurably ease the population woes of a world in which 125,000 people are being added every day.

The plain fact is that as long as America remains prosperous, there will be cries of rage from people who would like to get in and can't. Even a well-heeled Korean coolie could live more comfortably on relief in a New York tenement.

And the plain fact is that America is not hurting for population or job seekers. America now contains 193 million people. Our current birth rate is more than twice our death rate. By 1980, even without President Johnson's new, liberal immigration law, we will have 240 million people.

Every other nation in the world writes its immigration laws to suit itself. Every other nation in the world says, "It is our country, and so what?"

Well, it's our country, too, and when we start writing immigration laws to suit the hungry camel drivers of Upper Malaria, old man History will bust his buttons laughing.

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WIDE USE of coin vending machines and the activities of coin collectors have aggravated the United States Mint's problem of keeping supply abreast of demand. Coinage of domestic coins grew from $1.6 billion in 1953 to $3.8 billion in 1963. It is estimated that more than $4.7 billion will be needed in the coming fiscal year. During the 1953-1963 period, Treasury figures show coinage of pennies increased by 1.4 billion; dimes by 316 million; quarters by 121 million, and half-dollars by 61 million.—Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.)

Frank C. Hanighen

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